

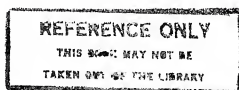
SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

# EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGE: TEN YEARS ON

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## FOREWORD

Our authors have performed a valuable service in bringing together, and providing a record of, many of the initiatives taken during the sixties and seventies to combat educational disadvantage in Scotland. Tracing such initiatives proved to be no mean task as they discovered 'much of the action has been local and has disappeared without record.' This only emphasises the value of their own exercise in bringing together much that would have faded from view without their endeavours. The authors have, however, done more than supply a record of Scottish initiatives and have provided an analysis of developments over this period by teasing out the tactics and strategies employed by projects.

This review is concerned with one facet of deprivation or disadvantage—educational disadvantage. Even so it cannot be neatly separated off from other types of disadvantage (such as disadvantage in relation to income and poverty, occupation and employment, housing, physical and mental health, crime and delinquency, family life). Indeed minimal educational achievements 'tend to be predictive of poorest status employment and hence reduce earning capacity' (Brown & Madge). Moreover educational achievements themselves are influenced by social background. As Gray, McPherson and Raffe observed in their analysis of social class inequality in *Reconstruction of Secondary Education*, 'Scottish education since the war has been neither meritocratic nor equal'.

In tracing and analysing the initiatives taken in Scotland during the sixties and seventies the authors conclude that 'educational disadvantage is increasingly being seen as a problem within a problem.' They chart a notable shift in education's role from centre stage to the side (or the wings?). This shift has coincided with a shift in thinking away from the concept of disadvantage caused by the deficiencies of individuals to a perception of disadvantage as rooted in the social and economic structure of society.

The analysis of the strategies used to tackle educational disadvantage proved a complex task too. The authors found that 'most policies use several strategies in combination and most projects focus on action rather than theorising about underlying causes or specifying firm objectives'. There are echos here of Brown and Madge in *Despite the Welfare State* when reviewing the SSRC 'transmitted deprivation' research programme. They found 'an extraordinary diversity of approach' to the

concept of deprivation which resulted in an 'atheoretical and eclectic approach' to problems.

That education has an important supporting role in the fight against disadvantage cannot be doubted. The challenge remains as to how this general statement can be converted into specific and effective action.

Judith A Duncan

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## Changing attitudes to disadvantage

In the 1960s the expanding economy and rising standards of living encouraged optimism about the possibility of building a new society. There were some shadows on this bright outlook: the population explosion of the Third World, the threat of nuclear war and other similar threats to peace, prosperity and stability. These were world problems; for the developed countries one of the most urgent of their internal problems was the persisting inequality within society. As long as a section of the population suffered clear disadvantage, they constituted a challenge both to the conscience of the reformers and the security of the prosperous.

In the years from 1965 to 1972, various programmes and proposals aimed to establish a pattern of action to remedy this disadvantage, from Head Start in USA in 1965 through in Britain the Educational Priority Areas programme and Urban Aid in 1968-9 to nursery school expansion proposed in the 1972 government White Paper, *A Framework for Expansion*. Since 1972, substantial resources have been invested in a wide range of programmes to counter social and educational disadvantage.

However over the period of the last ten years there has been a marked change of attitude to the problem. At the beginning of this period, schools and formal education were seen as central agents in the programme; later, they were assigned a supportive role; today, they tend to be seen as marginal. What has happened in the past ten years, and why? What are the implications for future policy?

Underlying policies and changes of policy are deep-rooted assumptions about the nature of the human condition. The puritan view attributes our troubles to moral weakness and looks to conscientious effort as a solution. Others see ignorance as the source of trouble and look to education. Others focus on material poverty and inefficiency and look to technology and the creation of wealth through industrial development.

## How education could help

The assumptions of the period 1965-72 placed belief in education as the means to an equitable and more open society:

schools, and formal education generally, were seen as central to adult achievement and future life chances: there should be equal opportunity in education—and equal access to opportunity;

early education in particular was seen as crucial in determining the level and pace of subsequent growth: intervention to remedy disadvantage must start at the earliest age, and be continued throughout the formative years of childhood;

parents and the community generally should be enlisted to support the effort of schools, since an educational drive would not be effective if it is not sustained by the family and by neighbourhood influences;

for this, additional resources are needed, and if resources are put into schools and neighbourhood agencies where they are most needed, in a policy of positive discrimination, they will encourage appropriate action.

Precisely what action is 'appropriate' was seen as the heart of the problem. The Plowden Report of 1967 called for research 'to discover which of the developments in educational priority areas have the most constructive effects, so as to assist in planning the longer term programme to follow'. But this definition of the problem is in terms of educational provision for children, and in the 1980s this is no longer how the solution is seen.

### Changing priorities

The perception of the problem itself has changed. Though educational disadvantage is still a matter of continuing concern, it is no longer high on the list of priorities for action. Other concerns have come to dominate the reduced capacity for initiatives in the system: unemployment, the 16-19 age-group, vocational training, and within education the secondary school curriculum and examinations. There is disenchantment with schools, doubt as to their effectiveness, scepticism about the capacity of education—especially formal, compulsory education—to solve social problems. Appropriate provision for the years of early childhood tends to be seen in terms of support for families rather than for nursery schools, or in terms of material improvements such as better housing. Unemployed youth, especially since the riots of summer 1981, are a more urgent problem than the under-fives. Resources are limited: we cannot afford the luxury of seeking a solution through education which will give the next generation a better chance, but instead have to work with the here and now.

Perhaps it is an over-statement to speak of disenchantment with education, but there has been a weakening of belief in education in the sense in which most people use that term, namely schools and formal institutions. Community provision has taken the place of formal education as the principal means of remedy, through housing, jobs, amenities and possibly adult and youth involvement in community development, especially self-development.

This change of attitude means a less favourable climate for action to deal with educational disadvantage. However, educational disadvantage is still an important element in the wider problem of social inequality, its importance being particularly in its long-term implications. Clearly, educational policy must be integrated with all the other aspects of social policy, and it is a valid interpretation of the developments of

the past decade to say that education has been put into its proper context instead of occupying a central position in social policy.

### Defining disadvantage

'Problems do not exist independently', Robinson<sup>1</sup> writes; they are identified by the values with which we view a situation.

'The status of a problem, its extent, cause and cure is part of the value system . . . Prior to the discussion of the problem is the requirement to specify who declares the event as a problem . . . The defining group structures the dimensions of the problem and prejudices the policy outcome. At the simplest level it matters whether poverty is seen as the result of the fecklessness of the poor or the product of the social structure; whether low achievement is seen as a problem for the individual or the school.'

To describe disadvantage as a problem implies a belief in equality. Thus disadvantage is relative, existing within the context of a specific culture: it is the gap between the less favoured and the more favoured—but favoured in which aspects? Edwards' definition<sup>2</sup> of disadvantage is concerned with life chances (another relative term) in three aspects:

'The structural inability to compete in those markets which most affect people's life chances, the employment, education and housing markets.'

The final report of the ten-year SSRC enquiry into deprivation, *Despite the Welfare State*<sup>3</sup>, identifies seven categories: income, employment, housing, education, health, crime and family life. Because these categories overlap, we speak of *multiple* deprivation; because each reinforces the other, deprivation is *cumulative*; and because it is not a temporary misfortune but one from which it is difficult to escape even in a life time, we speak of *persisting* disadvantage. (Disadvantage and deprivation are used synonymously here, except that disadvantage is acknowledged to be a slightly more value-laden term.)

The compensatory approach sees the problem in terms of unequal shares and looks for a solution through positive discrimination in the form of more resources. Edwards' definition refers to inability to take advantage of what is provided, and this points to a need for educational, social and cultural change. Similarly, the conclusions of *Despite the Welfare State* are based on 'an interaction of a mix of factors'<sup>4</sup>; the authors 'reject any simple prescriptions', with education listed alongside family income, housing, social services, employment and even public attitudes:

'Uncaring attitudes, stigmatising practices, prejudice and discrimination are all shown to compound deprivation and there is much scope for the development of a more tolerant and compassionate society.'

Others argue for economic factors as a prime cause, or see the root of the problem in the structure of capitalist society. Lewis<sup>5</sup> combines both interpretations in the concept of 'the culture of poverty':

'A way of life which develops in the face of material deprivation . . . both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, high individuated, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realisation of the

improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society.'

Each interpretation rests on assumptions which lead to different policy implications. Robinson<sup>1</sup>, for example, refers to

'the discussion as to whether the poor have a valid life style and need to be given greater power within the society or whether the poor are incapable of managing without the benevolent guidance of the middle class.'

There is a vast literature on the giant problems of poverty and disadvantage. Here we are concerned primarily with the educational aspects, and with recent action projects within the Scottish context (where the 'gap' is as great as anywhere in Western Europe), and so it is inappropriate to attempt a comprehensive review.

### **The aims of this review**

In this short book, our aims are to review projects and programmes concerned with educational disadvantage in Scotland over the past ten years; to examine the assumptions on which these initiatives were based; and to discuss the role of the school and of informal education in relation to educational disadvantage.

#### *To review projects and provide a record*

A great deal is being done, or at least attempted, in Scotland. Not enough is known about recent projects: even those who are engaged in initiatives in one area are often unaware of what is being attempted elsewhere. Reports seldom get into print, appearing only as cyclostyled papers which are circulated to a limited local audience and then lost or forgotten. More than one of the evaluations to which we have had access are confidential and may not be publicly quoted. One purpose of this review is to put on record in summary form some of the action taken in Scotland over the past ten years. However, in no way is this review a comprehensive account of all the action. A complete coverage is already impossible to achieve, since so much of the action has been local and has disappeared without record. The examples reported here are selective, concentrating mainly on educational provision and especially those projects which had a research or evaluation component.

#### *To examine assumptions*

The study of underlying assumptions and of the changing contexts within which projects and programmes have operated, follows the lines indicated in the preceding pages. Inevitably, this involves judgment which goes beyond evidence into interpretation. Theory on educational disadvantage has not developed much in the period under review. Action and finance have dominated the scene, mostly following out ideas which were in currency in the 1960s. Commitment tends to be valued more highly, and theoretical analysis is sometimes regarded with contempt by those who are most anxious to see something done. If this publication contributes to a clearer articulation of underlying theory in dealing with educational disadvantage, that would be in our view its most important contribution.

### *To discuss the role of schools and informal education*

What can schools do? Not much, was the answer given by the Coleman Report in the USA. That conclusion has been challenged; and even if we acknowledge that the influence of schools is more limited than was hoped in the 1960s, the educational system is still one way to get at the problem. Education is the major element in local authority expenditure; it has an established national structure and, in spite of disenchantment, it can call on the aspirations and hopes of a large section of the population, including many in the most disadvantaged areas. There are many schools where, fortunately, there is no knowledge of the negative findings of the Coleman Report, and where a resolute effort is being made to tackle the social problems of disadvantage. We visited schools, both primary and secondary, where this work was the prime concern of the teachers, and we were impressed by what they are doing. Their efforts are unpublicised, except locally, and as a result they often go unnoticed.

Within regional departments of education, there is awareness of the need to give every possible support to such schools. The extra staffing provided under Circular 991 of the Scottish Education Department recognises this need, and is widely regarded (within the educational system) as the most important single contribution. But in policy discussions and in integrated programmes, schools and teachers are often passed over or take a subordinate place. Can schools be brought back into the action, or should the effort of educational provision for disadvantage be directed rather into the informal educational structure or to other forms of support? The various sectors of the educational system, the mainstream compulsory years, pre-school and further education, community and continuing education, have different contributions to make; and how this is organised depends largely on how the participants, professional and public, perceive the situation.

In this review, the period of the past ten years is divided into three phases, though the boundaries are imprecise. The first phase, up to 1974 or 1975, was essentially a continuation of the momentum of the projects started in the previous decade. Schools were generally seen as central elements in provision, although the Urban Aid programme (started in 1968) had a wider scope of action.

The second phase, to 1978 or 1979, starts with the reorganisation of local government in Scotland in 1975, which stimulated new reviews of policy and a number of new initiatives. In accordance with the principle of corporate management, a key feature of the new regional administration was the integration of services, and this was a dominant theme in planning to deal with educational disadvantage. Schools were assigned a supportive role, no longer central, and community education (with varying definitions of that term) took over as the main channel through which the education service could contribute to solving the problems of disadvantage.

In the third phase, into the 1980s, these trends have continued to the point where—in some programmes and policy discussions at least—schools are no longer part of the action.

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- (1) P. Robinson, *Education and Poverty*, Methuen, London, 1976.

- (2) Quoted by C.P.A. Levein in: Scottish Education Department, *Report on seminar on educational disadvantage*, 1976, p 11.
- (3) M. Brown & N. Madge, *Despite the Welfare State*, Heinemann, London, 1982.
- (4) *SSRC Newsletter* 48, March 1983, pp 9-10.
- (5) O. Lewis, The culture of poverty, *Scientific American*, 215, 4, 19-25.

### The compensatory approach

In 1972, the Educational Priority Area (EPA) project had come to an end and its first report stimulated renewed interest in the problems of educational disadvantage. In the United States, at this time, evaluation reports on the Head Start programmes which had begun in 1965 were challenging the over-simple assumptions on which some of these programmes had been based. But though there were doubts about the effectiveness of solutions, the problem itself was still seen as important, and it was seen largely in terms of deficit theory. According to this interpretation, the life style of much of the population was deficient in that it deprived people of equal opportunity: poor language development, for example, put children at a disadvantage cumulatively throughout their education. Consequently, they were handicapped in the competitive struggle for life chances, and the remedy lay in improving their educational opportunities and in strengthening their capacity to take full advantage of these chances.

Provision in the early years was crucial, even though it had to be supported by 'follow through' programmes, and these in turn required to be supported by parents and by community development generally. The phrase 'compensatory education' summed up this deficit interpretation. The school was seen as holding a central position in tackling social disadvantage. In the Plowden Report of 1967, Chapter 5, 'Educational Priority Areas', the first of the sections which follow discussion of how to identify priority areas is headed 'More teachers':

'Once educational priority areas have been selected, the next step must be to give them the help they need . . . The most important thing is to bring more experienced and successful teachers into these areas and to support them by a generous number of teachers' aides' (paragraph 158).

The task was not seen exclusively in educational terms, and certainly not narrowly as a task for schools alone. But the prime responsibility lay with professional workers and agencies working in the worst areas, and resources were made available to extend their influence. The objectives defined for the Educational Priority Areas programme, for example, were: to raise educational standards, to improve morale, to revive communities and to initiate action research to identify effective strategies.

## The strategies adopted

The strategies generally adopted at this stage included enrichment of the curriculum, work with pre-school children and their families, and community involvement. Volume 1 of *Educational Priority* (1972) illustrates the point of view and also the move towards a wider view. In the chapter on 'EPA policy', the community school is regarded as 'the *essential* principle along with that of positive discrimination in a policy for educational priority areas'. This paragraph of the report begins by criticising as 'rudimentary' the Plowden concept of the community school:

'a school which is open beyond the ordinary school hours for the use of children, their parents and, exceptionally, other members of the community'.

The EPA policy had moved beyond this:

'We have conceived of the community school initially, as did Plowden, as a primary school, though we are not unaware that secondary schools frequently suffer from the same problems. But our experience has gradually re-defined it as a broad aspect of the community itself—viz the organisation and process of learning through all of the social relationships into which an individual enters at any point in his lifetime. Thus the community school seeks almost to obliterate the boundary between school and community, to turn the community into a school and the school into a community. It emphasises both teaching and learning roles for all social positions so that children may teach and teachers learn as well as vice versa, and parents may do both instead of neither. It insists on seeing the whole of the social organisation of a locality from the point of view of its educational potential, whether positive or negative. Thus the family, the school, the workplace, the WEA class, the public bureaucracies, the public house, the holiday camp and the street are all both potential resources and potential barriers to the educational development of the child.'

Though there are signs of the trend towards the coordinated projects of our phase two, the quotation is characteristic of phase one in the central position it gives to education.

## Project Four, Dundee

During this period the first crop of reports on Scottish projects were now appearing. The report on *Project Four*<sup>1</sup>, for example, was published in 1973, though the project itself belonged to the pre-EPA period, from 1967 to 1969. Consequently, it is an example of the early tradition of the 'compensatory' movement.

Staff from Dundee College of Education, with the support of funds from the Social Work Services Group, enlisted college students in 'an attempt to provide an enriched environment for a group of pre-school children and to measure its effect'. More specifically it aimed to encourage language development. Volunteer students from the college worked twice weekly with 33 children on an individual basis over at least one year. The children, aged four, came from an inner-city area of Dundee and were identified by home visitors as living in 'deprived circumstances'. Play equipment was installed in a school specifically for the project, and each student accompanied a child once a week to the school, and once a week to a place of interest in the city—to the harbour, or a park, or occasionally in group outings to the country.

An evaluation of the effects failed to show any significant difference between average scores of experimental and control groups in tests of language ability and general intelligence. However (and this has proved to be a common conclusion from ventures of this kind) mothers and students both claimed that there had been more general benefits for the children which did not show in the scholastic tests. Students and college staff also argued the value of the project as an element in the training of teachers.

### **Rosevale Nursery Project, Glasgow**

The Rosevale Nursery Project<sup>2</sup> was funded through the Urban Aid programme and was similar in its conception to Project Four. It comprised two complementary strategies: general environmental enrichment for deprived pre-school children and a more specific language development programme. The pilot year study (1970-71) was conducted in Partick, the main project (to 1974) in Govan. Students in training in Jordanhill and Notre Dame Colleges of Education volunteered to work with individual children aged 3-5 on a regular basis; a centre was subsequently provided for their use (the Rosevale Centre) and a social worker was appointed. Attempts were made to involve parents but these had limited success. As with Project Four, statistical findings from standardised language tests showed no significant differences between experimental and control groups and the main benefits were again claimed in terms of the extended experience the project offered both to the children and the students.

### **Educational Priority Area Project, Dundee**

The Dundee Educational Priority Area Project was one of five parallel projects and the only Scottish representation in the national programme (1969-71) funded jointly by the Social Science Research Council, the Department of Education and Science and the Scottish Education Department. The projects had common aims and centred on the educational needs of pre-school children, on the social and educational achievements of primary school children, on the involvement of parents in their children's education and on the role of the school in community development. All projects were based on the action-research approach. In Dundee three primary schools, two nursery schools and two secondary schools near the city centre were involved. Specific initiatives included an experimental pre-school curriculum programme, the establishment of pre-school playgroups, the development of an educational social work service, curriculum development in primary schools, parent involvement schemes and community provision for immigrant women.

The Scottish report<sup>3</sup> agrees with the English recommendations<sup>4</sup> in seeing the pre-school period as being of cardinal importance. It also endorses the importance of improving the partnership between families and schools in educational priority areas, the value of preventive social work and the crucial role of teachers, especially promoted staff, who are often the main points of contact with outside agencies. The Dundee report, however, differs from the overview of the English projects in expressing reservations about the validity of the concepts of the educational priority area and of action research as an appropriate method of inquiry. More important, the Dundee report is less convinced of the potential of schools to play a central role in community development. The Scottish Education Department's Seminar on Educational Disadvantage summarised the point thus:

'The authors of the Dundee Report do not see the schools as the centre of the integrated programme of social development necessary for the radical improvement of disadvantaged areas and in their view educational efforts alone cannot achieve positive discrimination. The whole structure of society reinforces inequality and if equality is to be obtained the entire social, political, economic system would require radical alteration.'<sup>5</sup>

Many would agree with the view in a Fabian pamphlet<sup>6</sup> that

'Programmes for positive discrimination are a necessary part of a strategy against inequality, rather than a short cut to solving it.'

## Urban Aid

Positive discrimination was applied to other aspects of national and local expenditure. Concurrently with the Educational Priority Programme, the Urban Aid Programme announced in July 1968 that it would allocate £25 million over a four-year period to approved schemes in education, housing, health and welfare. (The allocation to Educational Priority was £175,000.) In the initial phase of the Programme, 34 areas which were thought to need special help were invited to submit proposals. The central position of education in the planning at this time is demonstrated by the Government's indication, in launching the Programme, that they expected most projects to be concerned with nursery education and child care.

By 1969, the Programme was extended to all local authorities and to schemes for immigrants, family advice, teachers' centres, transport and aid to voluntary societies, with an additional £2 million available. In 1970, the Urban Programme was again extended, this time to 1976 with a promise of a further 40 million pounds. According to Van Der Eyken<sup>7</sup>, 40 per cent of Urban Aid funds in the first seven years of the Programme were allocated to pre-school and day nursery provision. The Programme is still continuing (see Chapter 3).

Although the Educational Priority Area Programme has attracted most of the attention of those working in the educational field, its scale was small by comparison with Urban Aid, in terms of expenditure accounting for less than one per cent of what was spent on Urban Aid in the first phase projects. Though most of the Urban Aid money at this stage went into buildings, at the start it was a programme directed primarily at improving conditions for children. The limits of what could be done with the funds available to the Urban Aid Programme are demonstrated by Mortimore & Blackstone<sup>8</sup>:

'By 1971, 18,000 new nursery places had been provided under the Urban Programme. The Plowden Committee had recommended an increase of over 500,000 places by 1975.'

One factor which had not been anticipated in the planning of the late 1960s was the sharp drop in the number of births. Van Der Eyken<sup>7</sup> points out that at the time when provision for pre-school children was a central aim of programmes, the size of the age-group was declining by as much as 30 per cent. This was one of the reasons for changing priorities within the Urban Aid Programme, and for the emergence of other initiatives directed at a wider range of social action.

## Community Development Project

The signs of change are best illustrated by the national Community Development Project (CDP), 'a neighbourhood-based experiment aimed at finding new ways of meeting the needs of people living in areas of high social deprivation'.<sup>9</sup> Twelve areas in the United Kingdom were selected, all in relatively small pockets of multi-deprivation, 10-20,000 population. The project began in January 1970 in Liverpool and Coventry; the only Scottish representative was Ferguslie Park in Paisley, begun in October 1972. CDP was conceived in broad terms, in line with the thinking of the 1960s, being based on the assumption that urban deprivation has its origins in the characteristics of local populations; and it aimed to develop coordination of services together with encouraging self-help and mutual aid. The issues it covered were correspondingly wide: employment, income, housing, education and the needs of special groups such as the elderly and the very young. At the heart lay the notion of 'participation' through neighbourhood democracy and involvement in local authority decision-making.

Ferguslie Park is a local authority housing estate built in the 1930s for slum-clearance. In 1973 it had a population of some 12,300, declining due to difficulty in letting houses because of the stigma attached to the area. Most of the projects within this CDP were related to housing (problems of allocation, eviction and physical improvement) and unemployment; those of direct relevance to education were a social work service in primary schools<sup>10</sup> and experimental work with pre-school children and their families (see The Renfrewshire Projects). In the initial pilot projects, education was a major field of investment, through increased resources to schools, the creation of 'community schools' and informal adult education. Latterly, as the project developed, the assumption that the problem could best be tackled through education began to be questioned. The SED Seminar Report<sup>5</sup> in 1975 summarised the educational conclusions thus:

'Pre-school intervention can lead to significant advantages, but these will not be retained unless followed through into the primary school. Critical to ultimate success is the need for a modification of existing attitudes—a process in which parents and teachers can learn from each other. Thus major aims are seen to be (a) to increase the self-confidence of parents and their understanding of the work of the school, and (b) to increase teacher awareness of the social background of pupils and the prevailing situation in many families in such areas.'

The 1973 Inter-Project Report<sup>9</sup> identifies three theoretical models. The first, a consensus model of social change, defined the problems in terms of a weakness in coordination and communication. The strategy was to improve management and administration of resources, and the tactic seen as appropriate to this strategy was public debate.

The second, a pluralist model, saw the problem as one of imbalance in the democratic and bureaucratic systems, a failure of participation and representation, which called for the tactics of bargaining and negotiation.

The third model was structural conflict, the fundamental clash of interests of different groups or classes, a problem of inequality. The appropriate tactic on this model was community action, and this called for raising consciousness levels among the disadvantaged sections of the community.



In most of the specific action taken, there was a mixture of these models, and as a result the approaches led to ambiguity or even contradictions, since few people brought a clear set of theoretical assumptions to the issues and the issues themselves were so complex. The 1973 report comments:

'The differences in basic assumptions among the projects are gradually helping to develop a more critical assessment of different strategies, but with a general move towards analyses that emphasise structural explanations of the problems of CDP areas . . . The problems of the CDP areas are not reducible to problems of employment, housing, income and education. They are not isolated pockets suffering an unfortunate combination of circumstances. They are a central part of the dynamics of the urban system and as such represent those who have lost out in the competition for jobs, housing and educational opportunity . . . The problems in these areas are not going to be solved by marginal rearrangements to take account of their special minority needs.'

### **The Renfrewshire Early Education Projects**

This group of projects<sup>11</sup>, beginning in 1972 and extending through the decade, had strong links at various points with the Paisley CDP but also involved the universities of Glasgow and Strathclyde, the Renfrewshire schools and health visitor services and, centrally, the Renfrewshire child guidance service. Ferguslie Park, Johnstone and Barrhead were the first areas to be involved, and the thinking and approach of these early projects were clearly related to the compensatory movement. The projects centred on the twin themes of the cognitive and language development of children aged 3-5 and the role of parents in their children's learning.

The studies began with experimental home visiting schemes involving health visitors. An elaboration of this was a study which centred on the effects of a specially prepared programme to be used daily by parents with their own children at home; parents were supported by meetings with their children's teacher in school. A further study looked at the effects of a structured pre-school programme in nursery schools. Findings gave strong support to the idea of parent participation at every level and some support to the notion of 'structure' in nursery education. Later studies concentrated on an analysis of nursery school strategies such as staff behaviour and the relationship between children's chosen activities and their sex, IQ and socioeconomic status. The various projects have a strong empirical basis, and they generated a continuing interest in early education through the Renfrewshire child guidance service and in the present participation programme which is still in operation in a revised form.

### **A current of change**

In this first of the three phases into which we have grouped the initiatives of the past ten years, the 'high point' is probably the proposal for substantial expansion of nursery school places in the Government's 1972 White Paper, *A Framework for Expansion*. Various events around this time ensured that the topic remained a matter of continuing concern, especially in the areas of Glasgow and Central Scotland. The publication in 1973 by the National Children's Bureau, *Born to Fail*,<sup>12</sup> highlighted the social problems of the Glasgow area; and as the detailed results of the 1971 Census became available separately for enumeration districts, they demonstrated dramatically the extent of social disadvantage particularly in Clydeside.

The subject was kept in the public eye by conference addresses by national figures which attracted headline coverage in the media. In June 1972, Sir Keith Joseph, then Secretary of State for Social Services, drew attention to the persistence of deprivation in spite of economic growth and welfare provision. He suggested that social problems recur in successive generations of the same families, in a 'cycle of deprivation'. This became the topic of a research programme funded by the Department of Health and Social Security, the results of which have tended to cast doubt on the idea.

Lady Plowden campaigned actively for implementation of the recommendations of her committee's 1967 report, particularly for expansion of pre-school facilities; but by 1973, her emphasis had shifted from the provision of nursery schools to the encouragement of the play-group movement. The plans to increase nursery school places stimulated a vigorous response from the Pre-School Playgroups Association, advocating instead their parent-led independent approach. Lady Plowden's 1973 address<sup>13</sup> to the Association illustrates the continuing concern for the problem and the gradual shift of attitude on how best to tackle it. In a section 'dealing with pre-school provision in deprived areas' she said:

'Our most vital task is to raise the quality of the mother-child relationship *in the home*. Nursery classes and schools, as at present constituted and organised, have no expertise in doing this. I now firmly believe, and I have changed my mind these last years, that if the expansion of nursery education in these areas takes place in the traditional way, there is no evidence that the effect will be more than short-term . . . If this is to have a more lasting effect, the vital thing is that parents should be part of the process.'

Voluntary effort, social action, coordinated policies, community development, now appeared as major lines of action instead of being supportive devices to assist the school system to remedy disadvantage.

By 1974, a sufficient volume of evidence had been published in reports from the first generation of projects to demonstrate the complexity of the problem, and the limited success of the attempts thus far to make any impact on the problem. In the United States, evaluations of the early Head Start programmes were discouraging: summer pre-school programmes did not after all live up to Hubert Humphrey's belief that education was 'the key to the door through which the poor can escape from poverty'<sup>14</sup>. By the time that a comprehensive and optimistic review of longitudinal evaluations had been published by Bronfenbrenner<sup>15</sup> in 1974, the belief that Head Start was a failure had passed into popular wisdom. Jencks's report on inequality<sup>16</sup> in 1972 (published in Britain in 1973) concluded:

'None of the evidence suggests that school reforms can be expected to bring about significant social changes outside the schools.'

The American debate was extensively reported in Britain and had clear impact on public and professional attitudes.

Other events also may have influenced public opinion, but their effects are more open to dispute. The early years of the 1970s saw widespread unrest among teachers, leading to public action and a militant campaign on pay and conditions of service. Comprehensive reorganisation of secondary education was still being opposed; the raising of the school leaving age was disputed even by teachers, and delayed; the

Black Papers and other publications challenged the 'progressive movement' in education.

Crucially, the energy crisis of October 1973 generated wide concern about the economic future of the country, and threatened the industrial basis from which, it had been assumed, a policy of positive discrimination would be financed without actually taking resources away from the more advantaged sectors. Add to this the realisation (dating from about 1971, but slow to dawn) that the drop in the birthrate was to be a lasting phenomenon, much greater than had been imagined; and it was perhaps not surprising that public expenditure cuts in 1975 struck most severely at the nursery education programme.

The significance of changes in public expenditure is that they reflect changes in public attitude. The comment of Husen<sup>17</sup>, in relation to the general educational scene, is that 'the most tangible sign of loss of confidence is budgetary cuts'. Thus 1975 brought second thoughts.

## Conclusion

Phase one, up to this point, can be summarised as an attempt to remedy inequality by putting extra resources into disadvantaged areas, and working through the schools to try to realise genuine educational opportunity. More directly: a better life for the kids, and bring the parents in to help.

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#### **Broadening the approach to disadvantage**

The period from 1975 on represents a second phase of provision for educational disadvantage. A number of pre-1975 programmes continued, of course, principally Urban Aid; but reports and evaluations were now beginning to appear more extensively and the achievements tended to fall short of the high aspirations and expectations held of the early programmes. The results were not wholly negative: indeed it was said that they were particularly successful politically, in that it was no longer possible to return to the pre-1965 attitudes. More and more people were aware of the issues, and understood them better as a result of the discussion which followed the publication of reports, especially the five volumes of the EPA programme. But there was little hard evidence of success, only the enthusiasm and commitment of those directly involved in mounting the programmes. For some, the evidence from evaluation was interpreted as implying that more resources were needed: 'give us more' and 'try harder' were the lessons to be learned. But 'more of the same' did not offer a sufficient promise of success.

For most people the implications from the early programmes were that the effort should involve a wider range of social problems, and that educational provision alone could not provide an answer. 'Education cannot compensate for society', Bernstein<sup>1</sup> had written in 1970, and by 1975 this seemed a self-evident proposition. Consequently, coordinated programmes of action were identified as the prime need: 'change the approach' and 'get more people involved, working together' were seen as the lessons from the earlier studies. Education still had a contribution to make, but it did not occupy the central position which it had held formerly. Schools could help, and should; but there were other, and possibly better, ways of getting through to those most in need. The problem was still seen as important; views on how to tackle it were changing.

#### **Local government re-organisation and regional policy**

Financial constraints were also a factor, and they began to apply to the educational service with increasing severity from 1975. Most important of all, as far as Scotland was concerned, the year 1975 brought an administrative reorganisation of local government, with the former cities and counties regrouped into nine regional

authorities and three island authorities. With this reorganisation came a reassessment of local government policies. One of the first tasks undertaken by the new regional authorities when they were formed in 1975 was the preparation of 'Regional Policies'.

Corporate management was an underlying principle in the administration of the new authorities, and consequently the policy documents which were drafted in 1975 gave a strong emphasis to the integration of local authority services: in relation to positive discrimination, these included education, social work and housing in particular. The first part of this chapter is a review of regional policies, beginning with Strathclyde Region which from the start identified 'multiple deprivation' as a central problem. This is followed by an account of national initiatives, and a selection of specific programmes and projects during this second phase.

### *Strathclyde Regional Policy*

When Strathclyde came into being as a region in 1975, it inherited the unenviable, long-standing reputation for severe multiple deprivation known to characterise many of its urban areas. Statistics from the 1971 census spelt out the facts in their hard reality—

'Clydeside's dominance of the most deprived areas is a pattern that is repeated for nearly all of the housing indicators; Clydeside generally accounts for an even higher proportion of the worst 1% than it does of the worst 5%.<sup>2</sup>

In equally stark terms the National Children's Bureau had announced its educational prognosis that one child in 6 in Strathclyde was 'born to fail' (this against a Scottish ratio of 1:10 and a UK ratio of 1:14).<sup>3</sup>

It was against this background that the new regional council committed itself unequivocally in its first policy statement to the issue of multiple deprivation. 'Urban deprivation' and 'unemployment' were the key issues to which every department would be committed. This policy document, *Multiple Deprivation* (The Red Book)<sup>4</sup>, was accepted as regional policy in 1976. The enormity of the task was admitted, but solutions were thought possible given three conditions: commitment to multiple deprivation as a priority, readiness to admit deficiencies and learn from mistakes, and a concentrated sensitive effort by all departments of the regional council.

The principles on which a policy was to be based were: positive discrimination, a review and assessment of policy practice, staff training with an emphasis on changing attitudes, the co-ordination of central government, local government and health board policy and community participation. The Red Book reflected an emphasis on 'putting our house in order' rather than a simple faith or reliance on more resources. Policy was to be based on the area concept with 'areas of priority treatment' (APTs) identified for positive discrimination.

By the following year, 45 APTs of varying size had been identified throughout the region (from an original pool of 114), the criteria for selection being largely those used by the Department of the Environment and the Urban Renewal Unit at national level (for example employment and housing levels, proportions of families on state benefits and single parent families) supplemented by educational data.

A second policy document *Areas of Need—the Next Step*<sup>5</sup> reconfirmed the policy decision of the previous year: 'All committees and departments in their deployment of their revenue and capital resources must pay special attention to the services in areas of need'. In addition, it proposed a pilot initiative involving a small number of APTs to promote '... a co-ordinated area management approach involving the local community and all relevant agencies'. This was a bold move aimed at assessing the feasibility of integrated policy planning at the community level developed on the principle of co-operation among officials, elected members, professionals and community members and led by a local co-ordinator. Seven such projects were established.

While perhaps not strictly part of the 'deprivation strategy' it is important to note that Strathclyde has also developed a complementary policy which cuts across area boundaries and aims to meet the particular needs of identifiable groups anywhere in the region; it also aims to assess the extent to which particular services are meeting the needs of clients. Member/officer groups were first set up at regional level in 1977 and since that time have looked at the special needs of target groups such as the under fives and the mentally handicapped and at services such as 'post compulsory education and training' and further education.

A key document in 1980 was the report of the policy review group on Strathclyde's community development services<sup>6</sup>. The policies proposed are relevant to the whole region but much of the thinking is in line with regional policies geared more specifically to the deprived areas. The report argues that the principles and practice of community development should be central to regional policy at every level. As it stood, community development was seen as marginal within the two main service departments (education and social work) responsible for it.

In structural terms the report argues for a new community development committee to which directors of education and social work would report, for a community development officer group, for separate budgets for community education and social work community development and for area development teams. Like Strathclyde's reports on the deprivation strategy this report argues that the major task is not so much to generate more resources to community development as to encourage new attitudes towards community relationships. It recommends, optimistically, that 'every regional employee must come to see him/herself as a community development worker' and '... all council officials must have a sense of serving a community rather than protecting a department.'

In 1981 there were two reviews of the deprivation strategy as a whole, an independent report by the Institute for Operational Research<sup>7</sup> and an internal review<sup>8</sup> by the council. Several policy developments were proposed but no significant change of emphasis: member/officer groups were to be established at both regional and divisional level, the divisional groups were to co-ordinate Urban Aid proposals in an attempt to reflect community 'need' more closely, the APTs having been reviewed were to undergo some boundary changes and their number was to be increased to 75, and finally there was to be increasing emphasis on community regeneration with a strong impetus from the centre to encourage community responsibility and decision-making through 'community conferences' and attempts through 'community chests' to give local people discretion and responsibility in the disbursement of relatively small sums of public money.

Regional committees may propound a philosophy of commitment, a theory of hope, but it is with service departments, their officers, professional and other employees that responsibility for its practical implementation, success or failure lies. Assessing the implementation of policy is a much harder task than summarising the statements of policy and analysing its development. The report which follows in this section is the result of a series of interviews and visits in the summer of 1982. We looked at some of the ways in which Strathclyde's philosophy for deprived areas was translated into practice by its education department: we read reports, we talked to some of the people who from very different perspectives participated in the implementation of the programme. We were not surprised to find some very different, sometimes contradictory, assessments of what had happened. These are our impressions.

At one level a lot has happened. The list of current Urban Aid projects alone looks impressive; the March 1982 report lists no fewer than 257 education-based initiatives, most based in Glasgow but also scattered throughout the region (with the exception of one division, Argyll, which is hardly noted for its urban centres). These projects vary widely in scale and purpose but among them they cater for the educational needs of all age groups from pre-school children to adults.

Some of these Urban Aid projects have been innovative at least in their conception and some have been taken on to mainline budgeting. For example, resource centres have been established for younger children and their families with teachers, librarians and auxiliaries appointed with free and flexible remits to encourage the use of the building and its resources (books, toys and materials) by individuals, families and institutions in the community. Other examples are the Camus Place Education Unit and the 'family learning units' which are described more fully in a later section. The Home-School Centre in the Govan District of Glasgow is an example of a specific initiative by the education department. At the conclusion of the Strathclyde Experiment in Education in Govan (which is also described later in this chapter), Glasgow Division decided to support the continuation of what was seen to be one of its most successful elements, the work of the home-link teachers. In 1979 the Home-School Centre was established in Govan as a resource for the city and since then has extended its work through home-link teachers in Priesthill and Possilpark, through in-service work with teachers attached to a variety of educational agencies in deprived areas, home visiting with pre-school children and the family learning units for secondary pupils with learning difficulties mentioned above. Its most recent achievement is the transformation of an old Govan school into a spacious and modern 'neighbourhood centre'.

At a more general level we were aware of a fairly massive programme of community education, wide-ranging literacy and basic education programmes for adults, innovative parent groups based in nursery schools and community-based initiatives in individual primary and secondary schools.

But the description so far paints only half the picture. As we read reports and talked with those involved, we became aware of some of the tensions and frustrations. Some are well known in the region. It is evident, for example, that at least within the political party in power there is a lot of disenchantment with the role played by education generally and by schooling in particular within the deprivation strategy.

One paper from the Local Government Unit in Paisley is quite damning: 'We are certainly clear that Strathclyde Region Education Department does not play the part it might in the Region's deprivation strategy . . . The general impression is that the situation is deteriorating . . .'<sup>9</sup> The reasons are said to be clear: the power and vested interests of the teaching profession, the pervasiveness of its 'elitist' ideology and the lack of a coherent political platform at local government level for debate on educational change. The result quite simply, we were told (by a politician), was that 'education has lost political support'.

Two particular issues kept emerging: one was the contention that the school system in Strathclyde was on the whole traditional and inflexible in its approach to educational deprivation and that this was exemplified in its lack of initiative and limited involvement in Urban Aid projects; the second was the argument that too much power and too many resources were vested in the compulsory sector to the detriment in particular of adult education. We tried to pursue these points with those we met.

There seemed little doubt that primary and secondary schools did not figure largely in the Urban Aid projects. Tony Worthington, a Labour councillor, makes the point ' . . . we invite schools in deprived areas to put forward schemes for Urban Aid funding so that we can positively discriminate in favour of those schools, in an appropriate way, given the views of the staff. A distressingly large number of schools do not respond'<sup>10</sup>. The point was confirmed by an education officer who acknowledged that despite his efforts to interest schools by organising meetings and seminars he had met with very little response. He acknowledged that when proposals were considered at regional level priority often went to projects based in the community education field partly because in relative terms it was much more poorly invested but this in no way explained the lack of school-based projects. Few proposals came in, and even when they did 'the level of Urban Aid proposals from schools confirms elected members' suspicions of schools and their belief in community education'. Almost in desperation, it was claimed, they had funded some which filled them with little enthusiasm. The figures bear this out; of the 257 Urban Aid funded projects based in the education department referred to earlier, only 26 were based in schools (19 primary and 6 secondary) in the compulsory sector.

There is, of course another side to this picture. Another education officer described the submission of Urban Aid proposals as 'a bureaucratic nightmare' and declared it was little wonder that schools were unenthusiastic; teachers complained that their proposals received little sympathy, others that the short-term nature of urban projects, given that there could be no guarantee that they would be taken on to mainline budgeting, was a major inhibiting factor. This last point had been exacerbated by recent regulations which had explicitly stated that no proposal would be accepted which had implications for long term funding such as staffing.

On the more positive side, we were told by an education worker based in the community that many schools were willing to *respond* to requests for cooperation but that the day to day responsibilities and pressures involved in many schools in deprived areas were such that they could not initiate and maintain long-term commitments. Even among teachers, however, not everyone agreed that schools had valid reasons for non-participation. In one of the few schools which did support Urban Aid projects we were told that the main reason was simply that most teachers did not take easily to the Urban Aid philosophy which was essentially based on 'outreach' through co-

operation: among those who had tried and found it difficult there was little likelihood that they would try again.

The power and inflexibility of the compulsory sector is, of course, a related theme. That it is powerful can hardly be disputed; the whole history and tradition of Scottish education bears that out and in more recent years teachers' organisations have played an increasingly important part in maintaining that power-structure. It may well be significant, however, that two recent reports of officer/member groups, one related to the pre-school field<sup>11</sup> and the other to further education<sup>12</sup> both put forward fairly radical proposals for change based on community needs. Although they do not relate directly to the compulsory sector, they do affect the role of professional teachers employed by the education department and they do impinge on the compulsory sector and may therefore have some potential in the long term for radical change in the power structures within the system as a whole.

The need to change the power structure is argued, by those who want it, on many fronts. The central argument is however based on changing priorities within society itself. No longer, it is argued, can we afford an educational investment which focuses 90% of resources on the 5-16 group and 10% on the rest<sup>10</sup>. Social and economic priorities are changing; so must priorities within the world of education.

That the compulsory sector is inflexible is more contentious. Some within that sector argued to us that what some regarded as 'inflexible' others saw as 'based on firm principles' and that what parents wanted was the traditional strengths of the best Scottish schools. Others, both within and outside schools saw its 'inflexibility' as making it even more irrelevant to the needs of deprived areas.

In trying to summarise the climate of thinking towards education in deprived areas in Strathclyde at the present time we are led with varying degrees of confidence (because of the acknowledged limitations of our evidence) to the following conclusions.

First, there has been some disillusionment over the role schools have played in the region's deprivation strategy. There are examples of innovative schools collaborating with their communities but the examples are few and everyone quotes the same ones. Consequently, the major developments in education within the deprivation strategy have come through the pre-school sector and adult education.

Second, there has been an apparent swing of sympathy at official level towards community education. In part this can be attributed to a desire to divert resources to the post-16 sector, in part to a sympathy with its approach which has much in common with the deprivation strategy. The rhetoric of community education is appealing; the reality may often be more questionable and open to some of the same criticisms at present levelled at schools. It is important that community education should not be seen as the panacea of the 80s as schools were of the 60s.

Third—and we have little doubt of this—Strathclyde's commitment to its deprivation policy through education is still very much alive despite the negativism in some quarters. But part of the penalty for any vitality is the stress which it generates. We saw and read of this at every level; politicians, professionals, parents, children although, of course, it took very different forms. We would make only one point at

this stage. Stress is part of the climate of the times but for those who work as practitioners in deprived areas dealing daily and continuously with the stress generated by large numbers of children or adults who cannot cope, the personal toll is high. Allowance for that must be part of any deprivation strategy.

### *Lothian Region*

While everyone associates Strathclyde, and Glasgow in particular, with social deprivation, it is a mantle which sits uneasily on Edinburgh's shoulders and the 'deprivation' image is one it might not wish to admit too publicly. Nevertheless, areas of disadvantage within and around Edinburgh have been a matter of concern to local government throughout the period of this review. Before regionalisation in 1975, Edinburgh District had held a two-day conference of head teachers on 'Deprivation and disadvantage', and a study of *The educational needs of young children in the City of Edinburgh*<sup>13</sup> had been commissioned. The 1971 census figures had revealed considerable social deprivation in Edinburgh city and a draft programme of social and community development activities was planned by the Conservative city council.

With regionalisation, a Labour administration took over and accepted the draft Social and Community Development Programme with some enthusiasm. Three areas were chosen initially for action and positive discrimination (Central Leith, Gorgie Dalry and Pilton) and Wester Hailes was later added as an area for 'preventive' rather than 'remedial' action. (At the time, on the evidence of the deprivation statistics, Craigmillar would also have been a strong contender for the programme but because there was already an independent initiative in this area it was not included.) Responsibility for the Social and Community Development Programme was vested in the region's new Policy Planning Department, operating within the overall policy of corporate management.

Just after regionalisation the EEC launched its own anti-poverty programme offering funds for action-research projects based on deprived areas. The Scottish Office invited applications, and two from Lothian were successful, the independent Craigmillar Project and the region's own Social and Community Development Programme.

The year 1975 also saw a Policy Planning Report on 'Multiple Deprivation' covering a number of departments, planning, education, social work and education, with others such as transport also brought in. The Development Programme was implemented with five community workers appointed, one to each of the original areas and one to the Breich Valley/Blackburn area which was added to the programme. The community workers operated alongside other workers in the area, but with an emphasis on enterprises such as community business and environmental schemes rather than on education or social work. Like other community workers their aim has been to encourage local people to identify and agree community needs and to liaise with those in local government whose responsibility it is to improve the delivery of services to meet those needs. After five years this work was taken on to mainline budgeting in the region.

Thus, from 1975, positive discrimination in these areas was given clear recognition as an important element in policy. In 1976 a home visiting programme<sup>14</sup> was initiated and a review of parental demand for pre-school education<sup>15</sup> was also begun in 1977 as

part of the national programme of pre-school research. By Circular 991 (described more fully later) Lothian was allocated 50 (later reduced to 47) additional teachers, and in addition selected schools received additional resources for capitation, extra staffing and excursions. The years 1975-80 also saw the growth of community education provision which, though not designated as positive discrimination, made a significant contribution especially in areas like Wester Hailes.

A regional policy of positive discrimination now operates in relation to education, social work and leisure and to a lesser extent police and transport. Service departments plan their own policies independently but they are concentrated on the five designated areas plus Craigmillar. In these areas, for example, schools are likely to have better staff-pupil ratios, have staff replaced more quickly, have extra capitation grants and better maintenance programmes. These areas are also the most likely beneficiaries from Urban Aid funds: although applications from other areas are considered, none in fact has been successful except for a project for ethnic groups. Special project money through the Scottish Development Agency, and in 1981 the funds allocated by central government for inner city areas, administered in Scotland through the Carnegie Trust, are also directed to the designated areas.

In 1978 an appraisal of the Social and Community Development Programme<sup>16</sup> was commissioned from the Institute of Local Government Studies of Birmingham University. This report gave general endorsement to the programme, recommending it as the basis for 'a system of constructive collaboration with the statutory community councils'. It is claimed that many projects in the Social and Community Development Programme cross departmental boundaries and therefore often have more chance to be effective: community sports, arts programmes, a city farm and adult learning projects are a few examples.

A further review was initiated within the Education Department in 1981, this time internally through a Working Party on Positive Discrimination in collaboration with Policy Planning, and a directorate paper was drafted identifying ten issues in the deployment of resources recommending:

1. a regional policy covering 'a variety of avenues and devolution of decision-making to ensure flexibility';
2. a simple and justifiable procedure for identifying eligible areas;
3. a statement of objectives, with related forms of resourcing;
4. provision for evaluation;
5. coordination of resourcing;
6. possible restrictions on uses to which positive discrimination resources could be put;
7. an explicit statement on whether positive discrimination should 'be seen as an addition, once all basic needs have been met, or as an essential element';
8. revisions of allocations from time to time;
9. a procedure for deciding levels and modes of funding;
10. decisions on priorities and favoured strategies.

While most of these points are probably uncontroversial, two (5 and 7) raise difficult issues. Should policy on education, health, housing and transport be integrated ('making a policy out of a series of policies') or should there be diversity or even delegation of decisions to heads of schools? And should positive discrimination be additional ('icing on the cake') or should it involve a radical restructuring of resources, with more for some meaning less for others?

Reports from a series of inspections by the Eastern Division of HM Inspectorate in Blackburn, Pilton and Craigmillar from 1975-79 led to a collaborative conference in April 1982 which discussed these areas and reviewed policy generally. An extract from a paper circulated for this conference provided a summary of issues:

'This paper set out to describe and comment on a number of the characteristics of resource provision, curriculum and pedagogy in schools in multiply deprived areas in Lothian Region. The first conclusion must be that the picture presented has much in common with other schools in the region. A case has also been made to the effect that the operation of common practices affects pupils in deprived area schools more adversely than elsewhere. However, the most serious obstacles to successful formal education appear to lie deeper than resources or curriculum. In the first place, the teachers' attitudes to the pupils, sophisticated, knowledgeable, positive and well-intentioned, appear to carry in their train an assumption that successful educational achievement, based on reasonable demand and progression and determined assistance in the overcoming of appropriately difficult tasks, is beyond them. Secondly, classroom regimes which exclude ideas of elementary pupil responsibility, regular application to tasks, and the gradual development of powers of concentration, mar the pupils' chances of progress. To say that pupil achievement should match their ability rather than their background is to oversimplify because the two are inextricably intertwined; it is absurd to imagine that, so to speak, the fresh intellect can be separated from the sleepy, unwashed body. However, it could be argued that, certainly in the Edinburgh schools, the aims of successful provision of formal education has been substituted by a socio-psychological programme which finds its context in the curriculum. But the provision of formal education is the school's overriding purpose.'

One unsympathetic commentator has referred to this approach as 'typically Edinburgh' in believing that the solution lay in 'giving every child as good a chance as he would get in the Royal High School'.

An internally circulated paper in 1982 called for a fresh review and a possible redefinition of policy on positive discrimination. Five elements in such a policy were enhanced provision of accommodation, teaching staff, non-teaching staff, support services and finance. In relation to these, 'the role of the head teacher cannot be ignored as it is crucial to the *delivery* of the enhanced level of provision.' In a period of constraint on expenditure,

'The principle regarding the position of positive discrimination in the resource policy needs to be explicit. It can either be seen as an addition once all basic needs have been met, or as an essential element in the programme. Such a statement is necessary if positive discrimination is to be anything other than ad hoc.'

A more accurate way to summarise Lothian's policy is that it aims to do things but not to publicise them, for fear of an adverse effect through labelling. Unlike Strathclyde's

policy it is covert rather than overt, operated fairly informally and with very little publicity. A feature of the policy is that it is highly concentrated in relatively few areas; this clearly has political implications for councillors in 'marginal' areas which are shown no positive discrimination whatsoever.

### *Central and Tayside Regions*

Central and Tayside Regions also deserve mention. Central is an example of what a medium-sized, fairly well staffed region, with relatively small pockets of urban deprivation, has been able to do. From the start, the authority accepted as a priority the need to concentrate resources on areas and groups in need: this was one of five priorities identified in the first policy statement after regionalisation. The 1971 Census data for small districts indicated certain districts, Stirling, Falkirk and Alloa as priority areas; but even in these districts social disadvantage was not as marked as in neighbouring Strathclyde. Additional teachers had already been allocated to primary schools in these areas before Circular 991, and so the additional teachers allocated to Central Region under Circular 991 were directed mainly towards relieving the pressures on secondary schools, rather than 'waste them on non-teaching appointments' (interview statement). The headteacher of Alloa Academy claimed that improved staff ratios had been successful in encouraging more positive attitudes among pupils formerly antagonistic. Proposals in 1982 to exclude Central (and Fife) from the scheme were amended, after protest, to reducing the allocation to the Region.

Between 1975 and 1981, 18 Urban Aid projects (£1 million approximately) were implemented, twelve within the Education Department including support for two nursery schools, a community centre, a minibus, a resource unit for travelling people and a floodlit play area. In 1982, new applications to the Urban Aid Programme were planned as

'a strategy to improve the quality of life in the areas identified . . . based upon: (i) a coordinated approach . . . (ii) the use of urban aid . . . (iii) the encouragement of involvement by voluntary organisations and the local community . . . (iv) the designation of one officer to be responsible . . . (v) the establishment of a local forum in each priority area.'<sup>17</sup>

Five areas were given priority in this strategy, Denny, Bonnybridge, Langlees, Bo'ness and Tullibody, and proposals focus on a wide range of client groups.

Perhaps, it may be argued, it is easier to try out initiatives in a region where the problems are not overwhelming; or perhaps the heart of the matter in Strathclyde is the sheer scale of the problem. There is a danger of regarding social disadvantage in the less affected areas as a marginal problem, assuming that it is relatively minor and that it will go away in time if additional services are provided.

Central has a wide variety of small schemes, partly because people (and particularly councillors) are more likely to be persuaded by projects actually succeeding than by policy papers. Schools were involved in the early Urban Aid Programmes, but now that there is a requirement for a community focus, involving voluntary groups, and for self-financing schemes, it is more difficult to base projects in schools. Education tends to be seen by councillors as a 'sensitive' service, in which pressure from parents

discourages risk-taking. In the new strategy, the designated officer responsible for coordination will be expected to encourage school involvement. Coordination among regional departments, it is claimed, is successful at policy level in a relatively small region, though problems of coordination in the field are no less.

Tayside Region inherited the continuation of the EPA initiative in Dundee in the form of an 'educational social work team', which has survived the financial cuts, within the Education Department. In the early 1970s, there had been extra provision for pre-school children in designated priority areas, but funding for this has been reduced. Tayside has made various attempts to secure Urban Aid, but has encountered obstacles: mainly these are financial problems, in ensuring take-over at the end of the grant, but also the cash limits procedure means that the inclusion of an Urban Aid project often requires departments to adjust their own priorities, so that proposals fall by the wayside. Recently, Tayside has set up a Multiple Deprivation Working Party, to identify priority areas, foster inter-departmental cooperation and find additional funding for initiatives.

Tayside's community education programme is a major element in its provision in this field. While its recent report on the Community Education Service makes no specific statements on multiple deprivation, there is recognition within this report that the service has a role to play in discriminating in favour of areas of disadvantage. These areas may be geographic, or of the type identified in the Alexander Report where a more appropriate word than 'area' would be 'group'.

### **National policies and programmes**

We turn in this section to an examination of national initiatives. At a national level, an inter-departmental group of senior officials known as the Urban Policy Group was set up within the Scottish Office, with the task of devising 'a corporate approach to social and economic deprivation in urban areas'. This led to the establishment of the Urban Renewal Unit, a small administrative group with a remit

'to coordinate the activities of the Scottish Departments in the field of urban deprivation, and, in particular, to ensure that comprehensive local authority proposals are dealt with as speedily and effectively as possible and to act as a channel for policy guidance and advice to local authorities.'

Here, too, the emphasis was on integration of services, with Education as one of the contributing departments.

In 1975, when in several regional authorities policy documents on multiple deprivation were being drafted and discussed, the Scottish Education Department took advantage of the opportunity to convene a seminar on educational disadvantage. Directors of education from the regions and their senior staff attended, together with representatives of the health service, social work departments, colleges of education, the employment and training service agencies and HM Inspectorate. In his introduction to the seminar, the Under Secretary outlined the objectives:

'Our general aim is to move towards the formulation of a policy for tackling educational disadvantage. There are however two different aspects of a policy of this kind, both of which are important. First we need to be clear about what the education service can do to assist children and adults whom we identify as being

educationally disadvantaged or who are at risk of becoming so. Second, we need to be clear about what contribution the education service can make to a co-ordinated, multi-service attack on areas of multiple deprivation. It is to be hoped that a good part of the seminar can be spent on the first of these approaches—on the 'client group' approach—since, if we can find effective means of alleviating educational disadvantage in individuals or in groups of children or adults, we will have gone a long way towards discovering the most effective ways in which we can make our contribution to a multi-service approach designed to tackle, in a co-ordinated way, the whole spectrum of problems in areas of severe deprivation.<sup>18</sup>

A year later, in November 1976, the Scottish Education Department issued a full report on the Seminar together with Circular 965<sup>19</sup> which summarised recommendations emerging from the discussion. The Circular begins with a statement 'that the Government remain firmly committed to policies to help the socially and educationally disadvantaged'. A later paragraph makes the point that the designation of disadvantaged areas may not identify the pupils most in need, and urges that 'schools, wherever they are situated, should identify at an early stage pupils who are disadvantaged and should monitor and assist their progress.' Seven types of action are recommended for schools in disadvantaged areas: encouraging teachers to remain in these schools; care in appointments of promoted staff; limiting the number of probationers; priority for remedial teachers; more attention from advisers; induction programmes and in-service training; priority in allocation of resources, and improved liaison between school and parents and between school and other services. Also:

'The education service can make a major contribution to the amelioration of educational disadvantage through the schools' curriculum.'

The means by which this was to be achieved were 'stress . . . on the basic skills of reading, writing and numeracy' and 'activities . . . (which) increase motivation and improve levels of confidence'.

The impact of the seminar is impossible to assess; but its extensive coverage of the topic over four days of discussion (and even just the fact that it was held) renewed the attention given to educational disadvantage. The purpose of the seminar, the Under Secretary had declared, was not to propose (or impose) ready made answers but rather to assist 'each of those represented to begin to see more clearly what we can do to tackle the problems'. One outcome was the issue of Circular 991 by the Scottish Education Department.<sup>20</sup>

Circular 991 provided for 500 additional teachers to improve staffing in schools in the five regional authorities with the worst problems of urban deprivation. Subsequent circulars confirmed this provision in successive years at the same level of staffing, continuing into session 1983/84. A more detailed account of Circular 991 provision and an evaluation report in 1981 are considered on page 31.

One important Scottish document which contributed to the wider approach to the problem was the Alexander Report<sup>21</sup> on adult education in 1975. This was the starting point for new initiatives in community education, which was now formally recognised as a fresh and vigorous contributor.

'It is our view that the aims we have proposed for adult education are practicable and achievable only if adult education is fostered and developed as an element of community education.'

Among the client groups identified in the Report as deserving special attention were young mothers, the elderly, immigrants and a group designated as 'the disadvantaged'. In a section headed 'Areas of Multiple Deprivation', the Report recommends:

'Such areas call for intensive corporate effort by public services and voluntary agencies to break the cycle (of deprivation) and to involve the residents in the regeneration of the area. Together with the other sectors of community education—and of the education service as a whole—adult education has an important contribution to make to the performance of this vital task and we recommend that in the deployment of resources high priority be given to it.'

Community education workers quickly became associated with various positive discrimination schemes, and education authorities built community education into their policies and planning. Renfrewshire had done this from the start; the new regional authorities added community wings to schools, or built separate community centres or sports centres, and Grampian and Lothian Regions led the way in introducing purpose-built community schools which combined the provision for formal and informal education. Many aspects of the community education worker's job are related to remedying social disadvantage, and many of the projects funded through Urban Aid were part of a community education programme.

There were also government initiatives covering the United Kingdom in which Scotland was represented. For example, in a move to combat adult illiteracy, £1 million was made available in February 1975 to assist education authorities and other agencies, of which £100,000 was allocated to Scotland. An Adult Literacy Resource Agency was established and funds were directed towards training tutors and providing teaching materials. Another national programme of this period was the 'Quality of Life Experiment', in four selected areas (in Scotland, West Dunbartonshire), which aimed to achieve fuller use and better coordination of local resources in developing leisure facilities and activities, including sport, the arts and recreation generally.

With this growing diversity of provision, the need for coordinated effort was all the more evident.

### *The Urban Aid Programme*

The beginning of the programme known as Urban Aid has been described in Chapter 2. In the years from 1975 on, this programme continued as one of the principal sources of funding for a large number of projects designed to improve facilities in areas of urban deprivation. Under the programme, support (75% of cost) is given to approved projects for a period of three years (exceptionally, with extension to five years at 60%, or to seven years at 30%). Urban Aid therefore is especially suited to capital developments, the provision or improvement of facilities and experimental projects, but is less useful for schemes which require permanent staffing and long-term recurrent expenditure.

Many of the projects supported are on a relatively small scale: for example, of the 257 Urban Aid projects current in 1982-83 in Strathclyde Region, one third involve expenditure under £10,000, about a third lie between £10,000 and £20,000, and the remainder are over £20,000. The variety of provision is impressive: nursery classes, children's centres, pre-school and day care facilities; extra teachers for primary schools, home visiting, family learning units; community centres, youth clubs, community newspapers, community transport; after-school provision, careers advice, employment schemes; a day assessment unit, school-focused social workers, a rehabilitation centre, intermediate treatment centres, crime prevention, after-care support; advice centres, welfare rights and environmental improvement. Over Scotland as a whole, 334 projects were approved in the three financial years 1977-80, amounting to a total of over £12 million<sup>22</sup>. Many of these projects have an educational element built into them or are linked with education, though only a small proportion are formally classified under the heading of 'Education'. In terms of client groups, slightly over 20% are directed specifically to children under 5 and of school age.

A review of the Urban Programme<sup>23</sup> in February 1981 showed that:

'The Programme can provide valuable assistance in mobilising resources to tackle the problems of areas of special social need, and the Secretary of State has decided that it should continue.'

However, new criteria and priorities were introduced—in particular 'a major emphasis on attracting voluntary effort', and a restriction on staffing.

'Priority will be given to projects which generate a significant input of resources from the private and/or voluntary sectors . . . Projects should not lead to a net increase in the overall number of staff employed by the (local) authority.'<sup>24</sup>

As noted above (in the discussion of educational developments in Strathclyde), these prescriptions make it harder for schools to participate, in addition to the 'time expiry problem' that at the end of the grant either the project has to stop or the education budget has to pick up the bill for continuing it.

In the initial years of the urban programme, monitoring was virtually a condition of all grants, but this proved so difficult that procedures were changed, and now only some projects include evaluation as a requirement. A full description of the programme is therefore difficult to give, and a major study would be required to assess its impact. Two of the projects are outlined here in fuller detail, as examples of interesting small-scale initiatives.

### Camus Place

Camus Place is an Urban Aid centre in Drumchapel, Glasgow, which offers a range of community activities for all age groups throughout the week. It comprises also the Camus Place Education Unit, a special unit for up to 24 disruptive, apathetic or truanting children from second and third year classes in three local secondary schools. Starting in 1976, this unit is a joint enterprise between Strathclyde Education and Social Work Departments, set up as an experiment on the initiative of teachers from the schools. It is staffed by one teacher from each school and one social worker, and aims to be both an agency for rehabilitation of those who can be reintegrated within the school system and an alternative for those whom school has failed.

'It is hoped that in this way children who derive little benefit from normal education, the school having failed, . . . may have an additional and perhaps last chance . . . The term "additional chance" . . . implies not one more chance at the same thing, but a different kind of chance . . . The term "the school having failed" is not used in any pejorative sense; it is a simple admission . . .'<sup>25</sup>

Each pupil follows an individual programme planned with a knowledge of the child's family situation and personal stresses.

An evaluation<sup>25</sup> in 1981 was based on interviews, first, of those deeply involved (pupils, parents and staff) and second of observers (headteachers, an adviser and a Catholic sister who had worked in the area over many years). The report is strongly positive, making special mention of how a unit of this kind can accept forms of behaviour which schools by their size and nature find very difficult to accommodate, and how the staff can adapt to recurring crises and establish strong relationships with children.

'Teachers worry most about disruptive and aggressive pupils . . . Psychologists worry most about withdrawn and apathetic children . . . Parents and police worry most about truancy, which too often leads to delinquency. The social worker's view is much more eclectic . . . This means that the professional groups concerned produce a mismatch of priorities . . . Camus Place has demonstrated that teachers, social workers and psychologists can work together as an integrated team.'

Teachers in the schools, however, according to the evaluation showed a lack of interest and support:

'The general impression is that Camus is a fringe activity and is to be viewed with a measure of suspicion as befits an experiment whose worth is not yet proven.'

'The difficulty', commented one of the observers,

'comes from those people who expect Camus Place to work miracles, to bring about swift and obvious changes. Progress with these children isn't like that: changes are small, subtle, not easily noticed by outsiders . . . It is a place where children can relax . . . I mean relax within themselves without feeling inadequate . . . ' (Can you see this being provided within the main school?) 'It could be if you ran things quite differently.'

Only one of those interviewed was totally opposed to the idea, arguing adamantly that schools themselves were not doing enough to cater for such pupils, and that units such as Camus Place would encourage them further to shirk their responsibilities.

### Family Learning Units

The second example of a project funded by Urban Aid is the Family Learning Unit Project in Glasgow, started in 1979. Family Learning Units have been established in three secondary schools: each has a comfortably furnished room where families can meet, and is staffed by a full-time teacher with expertise in literacy education and a part-time secretary-receptionist. The objectives are to involve parents more actively in their children's education, and to support children who are considered to be at risk of failure in school, especially those who experience difficulties in making the transition from primary to secondary school. The responsibilities of the full-time

teacher in each unit, as detailed by the Glasgow Division Education Department, include:

- contacting parents of pupils 'at risk';
- facilitating parents' access to school staff;
- providing counselling for families;
- linking families to other support agencies;
- assisting teacher colleagues to develop courses appropriate to pupils with learning difficulties.

In the event each of the units developed different emphases in their work, because the remit to the teachers was relatively open. A report (in preparation) lists the following types of activities undertaken: counselling and coaching parents on help with basic skills, working in the units and at home with parents and children together, short courses for parents on curricular work; family evenings, family outings; project work in feeder primary schools, meetings with primary school parents, securing voluntary tutors for children; brochures for information of school staff and parents, advising school staff on home/school liaison; a 'screening' reading test for first year pupils, diagnostic tests and work programmes for individual children, putting parents in contact with other supporting agencies, 'therapeutic' listening to parents; team teaching, collation of materials used in the Project in a booklet *Involving Parents*. These activities bridge the gap between home and school in a variety of ways. One observer (in a private communication) suggests that the emphasis is on helping families to work along with the school, rather than vice versa: 'the expertise is still firmly in the professional's control and largely on their territory.'

In 1980, an additional teacher was added to one of the Family Learning Units, and a series of weekly meetings for staff was organised to provide professional support. Evaluators from USA joined in devising self-monitoring procedures. As the three-year Urban Aid funding drew to a close, two of the three units were closed, and the future of the third is at present uncertain.

### *Circular 991*

The Scottish Education Department's own initiative in this period, formulated after extensive deliberation, was the provision of additional teachers to schools serving urban areas of deprivation. In July 1977, the Secretary of State announced a scheme of financial assistance (75% of cost) to enable education authorities to employ 500 additional teachers for such schools. Circular 991, issued in September 1977, gave details of the scheme, allocating 380 of the posts to Strathclyde Region, 50 to Lothian, 30 to Tayside and 20 each to Central and Fife.

There had previously been a scheme introduced in 1968 by which some 3,800 teachers in schools having difficulty in attracting and retaining staff were paid an extra £100 per annum. The allowance and the numbers were increased in 1970 and 1971, but when extension of the scheme was proposed in 1974, negotiations broke down because of opposition to differential payments to teachers and the scheme lapsed in 1975. The provision of additional teachers was one of the recommendations of the 1975 Seminar, and the invitation in Circular 991 was quickly taken up by the regional authorities.

How these additional teachers were to be used was not prescribed.

'The number of extra teachers to be employed in any school . . . , the types of teachers to be employed and the nature of the work on which they should be engaged are essentially matters for the authorities to determine . . .'<sup>20</sup>

Guidelines were indicated: experienced teachers, not the newly qualified, should be employed; they should not be used merely to reduce class size; most were expected to go to primary schools; small group teaching and cooperative teaching, 'support of class teachers' and the appointment of 'tutors' for curriculum development and in-service training, were recommended.

Initially, the scheme was for two years, but it was subsequently extended in 1980, with the addition of 180 posts funded from the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project through Urban Aid, and again in 1982 (continuing to 1984) though this time without the Urban Aid complement. Fortunately, arrangements were made from the start to monitor the operation of Circular 991. Towards the end of 1977, Hamilton College of Education was asked by the Scottish Education Department to undertake an evaluation<sup>26</sup>

'to try to determine after a suitable period of time whether this had been an advantageous move or not.'

The aims of this investigation were to establish how the authorities implemented the programme, the criteria for selection of schools to benefit and the guidance offered to schools; how the extra teacher-time was used and to what effect, and to study the rationale of the scheme, working towards

'a conceptualisation of "disadvantage" specifically related to the Scottish education system, (which) could in the long run be the most important facet of the work'.

The report of this evaluation which was based on extensive interviewing of administrators, advisers, teachers and head teachers, visits to schools and follow-up of a stratified sample of approximately half the 500 additional teachers, provides a detailed and critical assessment of the operation of the scheme in its first eighteen months.

On the announcement of the scheme in July 1977, Strathclyde Region immediately began to plan for its implementation. Consequently, when Circular 991 was issued in September, the region was well placed to respond promptly, and within one week the first teachers were in post. By December all except 10 of the 380 teachers allocated to Strathclyde had been appointed.

However, the evaluation suggested that attention was given primarily to filling the quota rather than to considering how the teachers could most effectively be used. As the schools found themselves with extra teachers but without clear briefing, there was a wide variation in the use of the additional teachers. Implementation in some schools was criticised as unimaginative, the teachers being used simply as 'extras', while other schools introduced innovative arrangements for special education and home/school links. The Director of Education had prepared a plan citing a range of possible modes of deployment for the additional teachers:

group projects involving remedial and enrichment activities;

visiting specialists and additional staff to assist with learning difficulties;  
curriculum development projects;  
school/community and school/industry links;  
special units for pupils with severe learning problems, etc.

But extensive discretion was given to schools to formulate and implement detailed proposals.

Over the country as a whole, two thirds of the additional appointments were in primary schools; one fifth were in secondary schools, and the remainder were in nursery or special schools or were appointed as specialists or staff tutors. The report commented favourably on the work of the staff tutors:

'They have impressed because they have been prepared to prove themselves, they have been welcomed because they have persuaded the teachers that their presence carried with it threat neither to the teachers' self-image nor to their career prospects, they continued to be effective because their work was not vulnerable to dilution, and finally they are likely to be highly cost effective because their work has an inbuilt multiplier effect.'

In many schools, the main effort was directed to remedial teaching. The evaluation suggested that if teachers were left to define priorities they tended to equate disadvantage with the need for remediation. 'The deprived constitute a high proportion of . . . slow learners. Slow learners need . . . remediation.' But this logic, it is argued, is misleading.

'The missing ingredient is motivation . . . If a child has learned to anticipate learning as rewarding, meaningful, successful, status-enhancing, enjoyable, it will be welcomed. Otherwise it will not.'

It is for reasons such as this that the evaluation looked for evidence 'of new measures which discriminated in favour of *disadvantaged children* which made *their* experience of schooling more fulfilling, rewarding, meaningful and enriching', rather than try to assess the general effectiveness of the Circular 991 provision. Though the report is cautiously worded, the impression given is that there was limited evidence of such effects. Clearly, Circular 991 was a much-needed boost to morale in the schools.

'It tends to be a truism amongst teachers that the consequence of employing more teachers will be better schools, and almost inevitably better schools would benefit disadvantaged children in these schools.'

How to ensure that 'better schools' will benefit disadvantaged children is the crux of the matter. The report found a strong commitment in the schools.

'The impressions given by the headteachers, almost without exception, were of deep-felt concern about their pupils and of the need for an even greater response by the education authorities to their needs.'

Circular 991 continues to be one of the principal contributions at a national level to tackling the problem of educational disadvantage. It raises a number of important issues. It assumes that the school is an appropriate unit, that improved staffing will enable the school to operate more effectively and that the specific action needed should be decided locally and not centrally.

'Schools have their own priorities, which cannot be ignored. The innovator is faced with the choice of accommodating them, circumventing them or over-riding them.'

'The Scottish teacher, despite what has been said about the authoritarian element in Scottish education, does enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy. All too often, however, it is autonomy without initiative. There is still, perhaps, (though the scene is changing) a reluctance to experiment, or to work as a member of a team. There is still some suspicion of intervention, especially if this is by those who are not themselves class teachers.'

'When headteachers were asked . . . some of them felt the need for imposed direction in order to introduce changes in their schools which they themselves regarded as educationally desirable but which were less acceptable to their staffs.'

In general, the Hamilton Report is critical of the lack of definition of purpose:

'Weak definition leads to loss of direction . . . (The assumption) that much of the implementation . . . could be left to the schools themselves highlighted their problems . . . arising from inadequate information, support and supervision and the haste with which the scheme was introduced . . . It is not being suggested that the intervention was seriously mismanaged: its weakness lay in its nature much more than its nurture.'

A discussion paper<sup>27</sup> issued by the Scottish Education Department in January 1982 proposed the continuation of the scheme and reasserted the principle that the deployment of additional teachers under the scheme 'should continue to be determined by the authorities in the light of their knowledge of the needs of individual schools'. However, the discussion paper makes a number of strong suggestions:

'The evidence of HM Inspectors of Schools and the findings of a research project in the former Hamilton College of Education make it clear that the quality of education in schools can be improved by the provision of additional teachers. However, the effectiveness of these teachers depends very much on how they are deployed. For example, if they are used to bring about a slight reduction in class size throughout the school, their impact is minimal. The evidence suggests that the following are among the best ways of deploying additional teachers . . .'

and recommends staff tutors, development work in the classroom, arrangements to support pupils with learning difficulties and pupils with special educational needs, small groups for specific purposes for a limited period, additional instruction in particular areas of the curriculum, smaller classes at the early stages of primary education and improved links between home and school.

### **Specific programmes and projects**

In this section we look at a selection of specific programmes and projects.

#### *Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR)*

The largest programme in Scotland—indeed, the largest urban renewal enterprise in Europe, involving an expenditure of some £200 million—is the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal scheme. This was initiated in 1976 and is still continuing, bringing together eight policy-making bodies (central government, regional authority, district

council, the Scottish Special Housing Association, the Housing Corporation, the Greater Glasgow Health Board, Manpower Services Commission and the Scottish Development Agency) to tackle the dereliction of a population of some 45,000 people in the East End of Glasgow. At the heart of the GEAR philosophy is a decentralised approach which is area-focused, economically-orientated and community-based.

This is the most striking example of the 'integrated action' approach. It is area-focused in setting out to produce a coordinated plan for the entire Eastern Area. It is community-based in its aim to revitalise the area through community development, education and the provision of local services in which local people will play a main part. Primarily, there is a strong economic element in the scheme, with special training projects, workshops, advanced factories and support for small businesses to recreate possibilities of employment. But there is also a keen awareness of social and educational factors, which limit opportunity and perpetuate disadvantage but which can be used to create the necessary conditions for recovery.

The comprehensive strategy was outlined in 1980:

'The GEAR Project was set up to undertake the comprehensive regeneration of the East End of Glasgow, through concerted action to overcome the social, economic and environmental problems of the area. The remit underlined the need to take action across all spheres of activity in order to make the East End a place where people will genuinely choose to live and work. In order to achieve this, the principle of positive discrimination in allocating resources would have to be extended across the whole field of public policy-making.'

Six basic objectives were identified:

1. To increase residents' competitiveness in securing employment;
2. To arrest economic decline and realise the potential of GEAR as a major employment centre;
3. To overcome the social disadvantages experienced by residents;
4. To improve and maintain the environment;
5. To stem population decline and engender a better balanced age and social structure;
6. To foster residents' commitment and confidence.'

Educational measures were included in the action proposed. For example, under the first of the above objectives, it was proposed that

'School curricula should be developed towards improving the preparation of young people for working life. As part of the action to assist young people a review of the curriculum in secondary schools with particular reference to work experience is proposed.'

The third objective specified:

'A high priority must be given to assisting young people through the promotion of pre-school facilities; action to increase the effectiveness of schools in the community and to deal with the problems of truancy and poor attendance; and to improve facilities for teenagers outside school . . . In addition a considerable

improvement in provision will be sought, through making better use of existing facilities, especially with greater public use of education facilities.'

A report<sup>28</sup> on GEAR was prepared in 1982 by a team based in Glasgow University, led by David Donnison. The following account is restricted to the social aspects of the GEAR review. The brief for this section of the review team's work was:

'to study social aspects of the GEAR scheme, to present an analysis of the needs and opportunities and to develop detailed proposals for implementation which identify key policy areas.'

Because of the migration of many young people, the chart of age distribution in the area shows 'jagged demographic pyramids . . . usually only seen in countries which have recently passed through a major war . . . The GEAR population lacks the skills and resources for rebuilding itself which whole nations can muster after such catastrophes.' Educational qualifications are scarce in this area: in a household survey, 70% of respondents reported no qualifications of any kind, 9% had SCE 'O' Grade passes, 19% had apprenticeship, clerical or other post-school qualifications. Women were less well qualified than men, especially in post-school qualifications; and the younger age groups are relatively better qualified than the older, reflecting the progressive improvement in educational performance over the past sixty years. Projections of the future size of different age groups in the area suggest declining numbers of school age and increasing numbers in certain adult age-groups.

'The policy indication is that the educational priority balance must switch from school to post-school to compensate those already adult (and ill-qualified) and to cater for the rise in the adult age groups still to come . . . Priorities and resources will have to be switched from the schools to further education.'

Whatever social changes occur will depend on community effort and local groupings as much as on aid from outside.

'No external investor is going to step in to transform it. Its future depends heavily on people already there . . . There should be a serious attempt to train local people in community service organisational and leadership skills . . . Efforts should be made to enlarge social and economic opportunities by devolving powers to smaller and locally-based groups within the community in ways which also involve elected members and officials.'

Most of all, what is needed is a new approach. 'Business as usual', says the report, 'is not one of the options available.' Access to opportunity, to information and education, is crucial, since the previous experience of so many of the residents has left them with a hesitant, uncertain attitude to schools and offices and formal procedures. Often a first effort was also a last one:

'Being unfamiliar with application procedures and/or entry requirements and cautious about displaying deficiencies to strangers, our respondents' single approach usually resulted in negative outcomes, thus confirming fears of incompetence. The first contact is crucial and was often reported as being quite traumatic. From the fact that many . . . have not . . . enrolled in educational or training courses, it cannot be taken that none has made an effort to gain entry.'

The summary statement of the criteria for an effective educational provision is:

'... the desirable characteristics of the future system—let it be visible, let it be understandable, and let it be welcoming.'

Consequently the revised educational provision recommended for the area is built around a community college, in which further education, adult education and community education are fused, with satellite outstations and close links with secondary schools in the area. Associated educational services include the existing community arts centre and two new ones, the three existing branch libraries, two new resource centres and a community information service. Despite the confidence in education implicit in these recommendations, the report argues that the new college which is to be 'the control centre of a working network' should not be identified with schools.

'There is a psychological barrier at the gate of a school (especially a secondary school) as far as many GEAR adults are concerned.'

Resource centres should 'be taken out of school buildings' and located in the local library or the outstation of the community college. A statement from a group of community organisations is quoted:

'One lesson from all the area resource centres we visited is that the location of the centre is important to its success . . . All area resource centres should be located where they are easily accessible by public transport and where people are likely to go anyway.'

The report's own comment on educational provision generally also emphasises access:

'It is not to be expected that people, who are labouring under a variety of economic, social and domestic pressures, will have much time or energy to go out looking for education. The policy implications . . . are that the provision has to be very accessible and be seen to be of genuine value to local people. What is "taught" and the manner of its "teaching" are crucial questions, as is the geographic pattern of its delivery.'

Thus, while retaining a belief in education, the report seems to imply that present provision is *not* seen as of genuine value to local people.

'There must be an acceleration of the innovatory work now going on in schools to bring a long awaited "relevance" to curricula trapped for too long in the hopelessly inappropriate (to deprived children) strait-jacket of the Scottish Certificate examination system.'

The main emphasis in the recommendations is 'a cross-sectoral approach', calling for 'integrated policy-making between the three key services—health, education and social work'. Integration of further education and community education is also urged:

'Not only should the proposed community college put a single roof over the two services (F.E. and C.E.) but it should be charged with the task of thinking through *as a single entity* the whole field of post-school education in GEAR—and then organising it.'

But the difficulties of integration are acknowledged.

'At present integration between those services *may* exist at the level of individual professionals but it is far from visible to an outside observer.'

'There are so many good ideas in different parts of the education system in GEAR, so many devoted professionals at work that it is hard to believe that their impact is so persistently small. But it is.'

Within the GEAR scheme, there have been many individual initiatives which have gained little publicity because they have not been publicly reported or evaluated. One evaluation which was attempted by Hamilton College of Education<sup>29</sup> reviewed a proposal first made in 1978 by a group of eight primary school headteachers for a five-year experiment involving the provision of extra teachers and auxiliaries and structural improvements to the schools such as the provision of showers. When approval was given in 1979 for the additional staffing, college staff embarked on a monitoring programme, and within a year they were able to report 'significant changes'. With the closure of Hamilton College in 1980, the evaluation had to be abandoned.

### *Comprehensive Community Programme: Craigneuk*

In contrast to the gargantuan effort of the GEAR scheme, the next three projects to be described were concentrated in selected small areas which were considered to have intense multiple problems. The area concept (see Chapter 5) was still the basis of planning, but the effort was concentrated.

The Comprehensive Community Programme (CCP) was part of a central government initiative of the mid 70s originally envisaged to run in eight areas of Britain. Craigneuk in Motherwell was one of these areas, and its programme began in 1976. As the aim of the programme was to develop a fully comprehensive and co-ordinated approach to the problems of multiple deprivation in urban areas, it is a particularly appropriate illustration of a theme which runs through many of the projects of this period, namely the integration of services to areas of deprivation.

The significance of the Craigneuk CCP lies in being the first attempt in Scotland to plan a co-ordinated approach at area level—a strategy subsequently taken up by Strathclyde Region in its Areas of Need Initiative. Coordinated action would, it was envisaged, include improvements in the planning and management services, selective policy reviews and greater involvement of local communities through public participation leading to changes in priorities and redeployment of resources.

Craigneuk CCP was in two phases, a study phase and an implementation phase. The study phase was largely an exercise in analysis and planning over a two year period: one of five study projects was education. The report<sup>30</sup> made recommendations on studies which needed to be made (attendance, uptake of free meals, relevant curricula, coordination of remedial education) and on specific provision (two additional teachers, free travel, school-based home visiting, a nursery service to schools). The report also demonstrated the inaccuracy of the indices used to assess deprivation. On the evidence of data on achievement scores from the Motherwell child guidance service over a period of years, it was clear that there was as much variation within schools over time as there was between schools at any particular point. On the basis of this and other data drawn from the region's indices of deprivation the report questioned the concentration of resources in designated areas only, since many of those at risk live outside these areas.

## *The Strathclyde Experiment in Education*

1976 saw the start of another area-based project, titled the Strathclyde Experiment in Education and commonly known as the Govan project. This was an action-research project funded jointly by Strathclyde Regional Council, the Urban Renewal Unit of the Scottish Development Department, Notre Dame Education Trust, the University of Glasgow and the Manpower Services Commission. It originated from initiatives by regional councillors, the Director of Education and Eric Wilkinson of Glasgow University's Education Department: a specific starting point was an M Ed thesis by Sister Doreen Grant on the Govan district. Govan lies on the south bank of the River Clyde, and in the 19th Century was an elegant area. In the 1930s a slum clearance scheme of about 500 houses was developed here, and the area became a 'dumping ground' known as 'Wine Alley'. In the early 1970s the area was given a face-lift under an environmental improvement scheme and became known as Moorpark.

The project<sup>31</sup> was funded for three years and was 'based on the concept of educational integration which embraces the informal experiences in the family and neighbourhood and the more formal experiences in school'. It 'focused on the socialisation systems used by adults in shaping children's lives' and aimed for 'a deeper understanding of partnership in education'. Three principles in the theoretical context of the project were: that change must occur at all levels together; that it should come about through consent and shared experience; and that communication was central to the development. 'The difficulty', it was argued, 'would not seem to be apathy, but the lack of a structure through which this latent energy can emerge'.

Like its predecessor, the Dundee EPA Project, it chose to focus mainly on pre-school and primary children and their families but, unlike EPA, it concentrated initially on community activities and moved from there to the schools rather than vice versa. A project base was set up in a house in the Moorpark area and from it were organised library, reading workshops, family-based learning sessions, pre-school groups, home-visiting and outings. Home link teachers were appointed to the primary schools and inservice work undertaken through college of education staff. At secondary level, a literacy worker was involved with first year secondary school pupils and regular meetings were held in the project centre to help school leavers looking for employment.

From the beginning, the aim was to involve Moorpark residents both in their children's education and in the general 'education' of the community. Courses were run for 'neighbourhood education workers', who were themselves Moorpark residents and every effort was made to develop the community's capacity to tackle its own problems. In the final phase of the project, a decision was made to hand over the project's activities to a joint committee of local residents and teachers from local schools. However, the local authority refused to recognise this committee, and because of disagreements (all round) it was not set up until three months before the project ended, and it failed to survive.

An evaluation<sup>32</sup> of the project was undertaken in 1980 but was unpublished. It freely admits many failures and disappointments but also claims some success. Acknowledging that an area-based project 'inevitably means that several families with children who are coping adequately at school will be involved in the action', the

report claimed that 'in our view, this is a strength rather than a weakness'. Schools have a contribution to make to community development, but 'we have serious doubts as to whether school-based innovations on their own can alter the role of the school'. A vital issue is that of leadership: who initiates, who decides, whose project is it?

'First and foremost we are convinced of the need to develop local leadership in the community . . . The professional role of the teacher in the primary sector requires a radical rethink . . . A whole new perspective is required of both initial and in-service training.'

Although the project itself ended in 1979, its work in Govan continued in what came to be known as the Glasgow Home-School Programme, which was a direct outcome of the Govan Project. At a public meeting at the end of the project, to which local councillors and education officials were invited,

'the emotional allegiance to the work of the Project expressed by many residents clearly convinced the politicians and top management that the work must continue.'

### *Possilpark*

This group of projects, centred on Possilpark Secondary School in Glasgow and its four feeder primaries, began from a suggestion by the Inspectorate to involve Jordanhill College of Education and the Glasgow Division of Strathclyde Region Education Department in a joint scheme.

'Major cuts in public spending in 1976 made another project on the lines of Strathclyde's Govan Experiment not feasible, but the Inspectorate suggested that it ought to be possible to provide assistance to both the schools and the community without considerable expenditure, by making use of some of the resources and expertise of Jordanhill College of Education.'

The aim was to tackle the educational and social problems of children in an area with

'poor housing, limited recreational facilities and barren environment, where there is high unemployment, a proliferation of petty crimes and vandalism, a plethora of domestic problems, and where people, not necessarily only the old, are afraid to leave their homes at night . . . and over 40 per cent of the pupils entering the first year of Secondary School have a reading age of at least two years less than their chronological age.'

Support to the school staffs was provided through a programme of activities planned and operated in consultation with college staff, concentrating resources on five priority issues: help for slow learners in the secondary school, language development in the 10-14 age range, the improvement of home-school relationships, the improvement of links with outside agencies and the development of environmental education. After negotiations in 1976, the cooperative effort began early in 1977 with a series of seminars, extending, as the programme developed, to working parties, in-service courses and student placements in teaching, social work and community education.

In Autumn 1978 an evaluation was made to assess the achievements of the project, and the report<sup>33</sup> was completed in 1980. (The report is confidential: extracts are given

here by permission of the schools concerned and the college.) The evaluation was based on interviews, observations through attendance at meetings, and minimally on the results of questionnaires sent to teachers, where there was only a 22% return. The evaluation describes pockets of enthusiasm and success (e.g. the social work contribution, the remedial education course, the development of primary/secondary liaison and inter-agency links) but its wider picture also includes apathy and cynicism among teachers, and disappointment and frustration among college staff. For example, in the Environmental Education Working Group,

'Most of the work involved in accumulating an impressive amount of material has been in the hands of a few people, but communication to others has been minimal, with the inevitable lack of information and interest. "The History teacher has some sort of thing going": "None of our problems is helped by a dug-out canoe".'

A course of seminars on 'Slow Learners in the Secondary School' appeared to have been well received: 'Teachers have described it as a good practical course which gave valuable insights into the problems facing the slow learner.'

However, the work did not 'take on' at the subject-department level, and possible reasons suggested in the evaluation were a 'lack of coordination beforehand among lecturers' and 'the expectation of teachers'.

'To some extent it can be claimed that the Course provided by the Remedial Department of the College did give positive guidance to teachers, so that they could set to work and prepare new materials for themselves as they began the work of re-shaping the curriculum. It would seem that on the whole teachers were not prepared to undertake the tremendous amount of work which would be involved, and the attitude is understandable. Teachers have few free periods and the daily demands of the classroom with a range of problems can be exhausting . . . It is to be hoped, however, that should this sort of Course be offered again, no false hopes of practical help from College subject departments should even be hinted: until those departments have both suitable materials prepared and experience in their use . . . In the turmoil of battle weapons are needed, not the theory of warfare.'

There was no doubt about the energy often expended but the conclusion remains ' . . . it would seem to us that little has altered'.

The main implication from the evaluation is that school/college liaison in deprived areas needs from everyone concerned more time, more preparation, more commitment and more understanding.

'Teachers were perhaps over-inclined to see the provision of extra teaching staff as the only solution to their difficulties . . . When one is daily in a situation where the effects of multiple deprivation are constantly revealed in pupils' responses, attitudes and behaviour . . . the vision of what might be becomes severely diminished . . . Idealistically, any move that has meant some difference to one child is worthwhile, but Possilpark, like other areas of multiple deprivation, has so many children for whom so much must be done and time soon runs out for them. The attempts at Possilpark have pointed a possible way and within a limited resources situation. Learning from the weaknesses, playing from the strengths of co-operation across disciplines and professions, another opportunity might result in more immediate and effective changes while Possilpark quietly tries to foster developments.'

## *The Lothian Home Visiting Scheme*

In addition to these reports from the West of Scotland, three published reports from Lothian Region are also important: an evaluation of a home visiting scheme carried out between 1976 and 1978 and published<sup>34</sup> in 1980; a subsequent review<sup>35</sup> of a home visiting scheme for pre-school children; and a study<sup>36</sup> of parental demand for pre-school education which included areas of both urban and rural deprivation. These evaluation studies were done through the Scottish Council for Research in Education.

The Home Visiting Scheme was initiated by Lothian Region's Education Department and was based on the accumulating evidence from positive discrimination programmes in Britain and USA that, to be effective, any educational intervention for children had to include their parents. The home visiting scheme was centred on Lothian nursery schools in deprived areas and used trained and experienced nursery teachers. Children and their parents were visited in their homes for one hour per week in the year before children entered nursery school.

The families selected were 'those most likely to benefit', and therefore not always necessarily the most 'needy'. Six home visitors were involved at any one time and each visited 10 families weekly. Three styles of visiting could be discerned within the scheme: 'teacherish', emphasising concepts and skills and reasoning, minimal involvement in parents' problems (which get in the way of the 'real' work); interest-based, encouraging a social-psychological environment which promotes children's development; and language-based, involving language development as an aim for parent and child. In fact, strategy and approach were not strictly defined: one visitor, for example, began with style 2, moved to style 1 and ended in style 3. Broadly, it could be said that each home visitor introduced mother and child to suitable materials, books and play activities and aimed both to convince the mother of her own central control in her child's educational achievement and to help her feel competent in that role.

The independent evaluation focussed on the attitudes and behaviour of parents rather than on the achievements of children, and on analysis of the process of home visiting itself, acknowledging many valid approaches to home visiting. Findings suggest that over the two years of the evaluation of the scheme there was a dramatic effect on parents' attitudes to education but little on their overt behaviour. Parents had an increased belief in their own influence and on the importance of doing well at school. On the other hand, this seemed to lead them to favour a didactic approach to teaching their children and did not encourage any increased belief in promoting the 'general competence' skills such as initiative or independence which are commonly associated with children from higher socioeconomic groups. The Lothian home visiting scheme has been expanded since the pilot project and is now accepted as regional policy.

## *Parental Demand for Pre-School Education, Lothian*

This study was part of the national nursery school research programme launched after the White Paper of 1972 envisaged a large-scale expansion of provision. Its aim was to study parent demand for various types of preschool education relating this to existing provision. The study was based in the Scottish Council for Research in Education and

focussed on three areas of Lothian: a city centre area (Stockbridge/London Road), an area in the outskirts (Gracemount) and ten rural districts scattered throughout the region.

The study looked at pre-school provision generally and did not focus specifically on disadvantage, but one minor aspect was to look at non-users in disadvantaged areas. Findings here suggest that those who had never had any desire for a pre-school place claimed that they did not believe in preschool education or they felt they could do as much at home or they saw it as 'compensatory'—for other people's children. Those who had dropped out of groups had done so because the child did not like it and the mother had accepted that, or because the inconvenience for the mother far outweighed the apparent benefit, or the mother wanted the child's company. Mothers who wanted to work and whose children were on waiting lists, particularly for day nurseries, provided graphic accounts of their financial difficulties, their feelings of depression and sometimes of desperation.

### *The Craigroyston Curriculum Project*

Craigroyston High School was established in 1972 as a neighbourhood comprehensive school in a disadvantaged area of Edinburgh. The curriculum project<sup>37</sup> associated with the school attempted to promote in this area of severe multiple deprivation a model of schooling which would be 'relevant to the students' needs, with continuity and elements of choice and students at all levels (aiming) for national certificates'. In seeking to evolve as a 'community school', Craigroyston has developed an ambitious and widely varied curriculum programme over the years, much of it based on the social and community needs of pupils. Outreach projects aimed at promoting 'capability, confidence, cooperativeness and caringness' have been developed, with CSE Mode 3 as certification. In 1980 a successful application was made to the Bernard van Leer Foundation for funds to develop several project further: creating a community school; establishing a learning centre; expanding ; school-based intermediate treatment centre; continuing the compensatory education programme; and an evaluation.

This project is still on-going; in the headteacher's view, there is success to report from many aspects of the programme. Problems and frustrations are acknowledged, particularly in terms of the building programme and the relationships between school staff and other professionals working in the area. The first year report of the independent evaluators<sup>38</sup>, noting that the school has not formally been given 'community school' status, sees this as further dividing teachers into two groups, a hard core of enthusiasts and others questioning the priority given to the community role, 'feeling that there is little tangible progress for their level of involvement'.

### *The Stepping Stone Project*

Finally, in this selection of projects, reports and evaluations, mention should be made of an initiative arising out of the concern of the Scottish Pre-School Playgroups Association (SPPA) that it still reflected a largely middle class image and its determination to rise to the challenge of finding ways of working which were more relevant to deprived areas. The Strathclyde Regional Executive Committee of SPPA applied for and received an Urban Aid grant for three parallel projects in Blackhill, Priesthill and Possilpark, and the Scottish Executive Committee of SPPA received a grant from

the Carnegie Trust to appoint an adviser for three years. These two grants, received in 1978, then made it possible for the Stepping Stone projects to get under way. These community-based and family-centred projects express the agreed SPPA philosophy, aiming at 'the promotion of the growth and development of families with under fives and of the facilities in the community which the families can plan for and use'. Their general aims are to encourage mothers and fathers to play a responsible and confident part in their children's upbringing, to meet the play needs of children, to help the development of community groups, offer appropriate forms of training to adults and in the long term contribute to the regeneration of communities.

The first published report<sup>39</sup> on the projects is descriptive rather than evaluative. It underlines the effect of the many crisis situations experienced by families in deprived areas and the role young children can play in such crises. It emphasises that young children not only experience frustrations but are themselves unwittingly provokers of frustration and crisis. The report stresses the need for adult as well as child support and education, inter-agency collaboration, and a time-scale which is commensurate with the scale of the problems involved. It also highlights the need for organisations such as the playgroup movement to rethink their role and expectations in the light of different groups and circumstances. Among the issues raised is that of timing:

'Project workers are continuously seeking ways in which responsibilities and decision-making can be shared; on the other hand, if this is taken too fast, there is confusion, lack of understanding and the eventual fall away of the families concerned. There are dangers of both "going too fast" and of "being over-protective", and the balance seems never to be resolved . . . The process is not one that can be hurried.'

## Conclusion

Altogether, this account of projects and policies since 1975 is an impressive list, remarkable for its variety as much as for its scale. The various projects which have been described are perhaps best viewed as many separate initiatives: in no way do they constitute a Scottish 'programme' of action on the problem of multiple deprivation. Few of the projects have been reported publicly, fewer still have been evaluated, and our selection includes all the reports (including typescript or mimeo) which we could trace in an extensive search. Varied as they are, in retrospect it is clear that they have certain features in common, aims, assumptions or methodology reflecting educational or political or other thinking of the time. What are the distinctive features of these projects, and how do they differ from the pre-1975 effort?

First, there is a marked emphasis on area-based projects. Area-based work is at the heart of the Urban Aid Programme, but even projects not associated with Urban Aid have tended to focus on selected areas. The validity of the area concept is discussed in Chapter 5.

Second, special effort is made to organise the integration and coordination of services. It is not sufficient just to steer more resources towards disadvantaged areas: just as much advantage can be got by improving 'delivery', by making sure that policies do not conflict and that one initiative can build on the other. This is part of the area-based idea, to concentrate effort in one area in order to generate a 'critical mass' for a continuing process.

Third, there has been a trend in these projects away from the notion of education as the pivot of change to education as one of the many services which must work together in an equal partnership. The Educational Priority Area projects were based on a faith in the centrality of education, but, even by the time of the Community Development Projects projects that faith was much less resolute, as housing, employment, and the 'participation' aspects of community development became the new priorities. By the time of the GEAR project, economic investment was the highest priority, education with the other social services playing a still important but subsidiary role. In all this, community participation was crucial, and if it appeared that community participation could not easily be reconciled with school-based developments, then schools would be by-passed.

Fourth, action was the prime consideration—'getting things done'—sometimes with a built-in research component on the action-research model, or with an independent evaluation, or often without any systematic documentation except for financial audit. Despite the scale of the programme and the number of projects sponsored, relatively few of those brought to our attention were thoroughly documented or evaluated. The Circular 991 provision is an exception in that it is directed solely to schools and has been monitored both internally by Inspectors' reports and by an external evaluation. It is worth noting also that of the three projects committed to the action-research model, EPA, CDP and the Govan Project, none was conspicuously successful in finding positive complementary roles for the action and research components or in identifying the most effective forms of intervention. The coordinated approach implies that no one form of intervention can be seen as 'most effective': it is the combined effect which matters.

And what of the impact of the research? There is little hard evidence for this. Some specific outcomes are obvious: the team of educational social workers still operating in Tayside is the direct result of the EPA project, as Glasgow's home-school programme is one result of Govan. An expanded home visiting programme has resulted from the Lothian project and the Renfrewshire parent participation programme still operates.

Other claims for the impact of these projects are more tenuous. Some would claim, for example, that the EPA projects at national level had considerable influence on government thinking when it took the policy decision to expand nursery education in 1972; others would claim that many of the movements now generally accepted in the education of all children (such as home-school links, parent involvement and inter-agency co-operation) got their main impetus from the work done in the area of multiple deprivation. Whether such projects generated a particular climate or were themselves the result of it is of course highly debatable.

Perhaps we should also consider 'negative' impact, whether any of the projects might have been misguided or have generated policies or attitudes which might have made it more difficult for the needs of children in deprived areas to be met. Such an assessment demands clear value judgments but from today's perspective some would argue that the early preschool projects were misguided in that they removed children from their homes in order to provide 'enrichment'. There is also some evidence from area-based projects of the negative effects of labelling, and of some of the feelings of frustration and rejection when the impetus of an action project was removed. More specifically there is clear evidence from several projects (such as CDP, Possilpark and

the Areas of Need Initiative) of entrenched attitudes and of professionals and community members frustrated and made more cynical because of their project experience.

These then are the main projects in central Scotland to date, the product of the thinking of the 1960s and 1970s. Diverse in many ways they may be, but one thing is clear: they are all in their thinking committed to change. That change, it was believed, would be best brought about if policies were geared to four key principles: the area-based approach, coordination of services, community participation and the injection of resources on the principle of positive discrimination.

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Tracing 'trends' and 'patterns' in the past is history: trying to identify trends in current events is more likely to be regarded as speculation. To analyse the course of development in the first two phases specified in Chapter 1, from the 1960s to the 70s and from 1975 to 1979, is easier than to interpret the third most recent phase, from 1979 on. Indeed, only in retrospect is it possible to identify a pattern of development in provision for educational and social disadvantage in the 1970s.

It would be misleading to give the impression that there ever was a carefully conceived and co-ordinated programme on disadvantage. The reason why it is possible to see common themes running through the wide variety of action and administrative provision in the past decade is the underlying climate of opinion, a general political, social, educational and economic climate which produced its own definition of what disadvantage was and prompted its own style of response. The style of response reflected certain features of that climate—the relative affluence of the 1960s and the faith in education, for example—and also, in the short term, the impact of specific events such as racial unrest.

In the years since 1979, it appears at first sight that no new initiatives have been taken. Existing provision has continued, and even expanded. Disadvantage has slipped from its high position on the agenda—and so has education—as other concerns have arisen to command public attention. But we are still too close to the period to see what is happening to the pattern of response. What we can already discern is a change of climate which in turn has redefined 'disadvantage'. With national economy, inflation and unemployment as priority concerns, initiatives by the Manpower Services Commission such as the Youth Training Scheme enter into consideration. The key principles of the previous phase outlined at the end of Chapter 3 remain—the area-based approach, coordination of services, community participation and action as the prime consideration—but the interpretation of these principles and the purposes which they are seen to perform are being redefined.

#### **The changing climate**

It is convenient to identify the changing climate with the election of a Conservative government in May 1979 and to take this as the starting point for a new phase.

Probably it is more accurate to see that election as itself a reflection of the changes in public attitudes which had been gaining ground since the international economic crisis of 1973. Throughout the period covered in Chapter 3, from 1975 to 1979, economic stringency and related demands for public accountability were increasingly dominant factors in policy-making. In particular, the economic situation was dominated by two main issues, inflation and unemployment. Their effect on programmes for the disadvantaged is complex, but they have two obvious and immediate implications.

*No surplus resources* Inflation meant that the 'real' meaning of positive discrimination became apparent. No longer could it be seen as merely a matter of directing surplus resources to deprived areas, of using the gain from increased productivity to help those most in need. Instead, if a policy of positive discrimination were to be pursued, it would now mean diverting resources from the 'haves' to the 'have nots'.

*A national crisis* The employment crisis was national, affecting all ages, social classes and education levels. Consequently there was no longer the same clear contrast between sections of the nation who were prospering and others who were not. There are of course differentials: unemployment rates in some areas are much higher than in others, and graduate unemployment is nowhere near the level among the unskilled. But no one section of the community could be identified as suffering the consequences, and none was unaffected by the threat.

The combined effect was to focus priority on national regeneration rather than on specific local areas or selected groups in society. No new national programmes were introduced for large-scale investment in deprived areas. Existing programmes, such as Urban Aid and Circular 991, continued and were reviewed, for clearly the problems were still with us and possibly this provision was seen as adequate in the circumstances. The summer riots of 1981 were an exception to this general trend: widely identified with unemployed disadvantaged youth in run-down urban centres, they led to a specific programme of action. Other forms of disadvantage did not express themselves as dramatically.

In short, the problem was now redefined. No longer was it a question of 'helping' the less fortunate members of society, of extending to those at a disadvantage a fair share of life chances. It was a national problem of shrinking opportunities and recession, a general economic problem rather than one affecting specific local areas. Even to continue existing programmes of positive discrimination, national recovery was a prior requirement; and, it was argued, the less fortunate would gain more in the long run if national recovery were accepted as the prime concern.

### **Changing attitudes to education**

In Chapter 1, it was suggested that in this latest phase education has moved to a marginal position in the attack on disadvantage. The reasons reflect directly the changes in the climate of public opinion which have been discussed in the previous paragraphs.

The simple belief that investment in education would show a direct return in national prosperity has been disproved by events. That there is a link between education and industrial development is obvious, and the connection has regularly been used as an argument for improving educational opportunities. As long ago as 1851 (and again in 1983), technical education was seen as a remedy for the country's poor industrial performance. The Crowther Report<sup>1</sup> of 1959 is one of several documents of its period which outlined the benefits to the nation of extending the educational provision. The view that education enables the disadvantaged to escape from the limitations of their circumstances also has a long history. The belief that improved education would eventually overcome social problems such as juvenile delinquency and infant mortality—and even political unrest—is a questionable extension of this faith in education. In the 1970s, there was clearly a loss of public faith in education as a panacea, or even as a source of economic prosperity. Husén (1979)<sup>2</sup> wrote:

'The most evident symptom of changed attitudes to education is the wave of criticism from both left and right that swept many countries in the late 1960s'

The title of the book from which this quotation is taken, *The School in Question*, is itself an indication of the trend, as are other titles of the same period, Bernbaum's *Schooling in Decline*, Dennison's *Education in Jeopardy* and so on.

### *The accountability movement*

Education was a prime target in the accountability movement from 1976 on. The 'Great Debate' of 1977-8 and subsequent moves to make schools accountable to their public focused largely on traditional standards of attainment. Examination performance and test scores were the evidence looked for: politicians, parents, employers and some (though not all) administrators specified standards of attainment as the main criterion for accountability. Few, if any, have suggested judging schools on the basis of their ability to spearhead coordinated, community-based programmes for the disadvantaged. Even within the teaching profession, where there is a widespread concern for the socially disadvantaged pupil, many question whether schools should be directly involved with the social problems of the areas they serve: instead, it is often argued, they should concentrate on the individual pupils, to encourage them to reach the highest educational standards which they are capable of and thus to maximise their chances in the competitive world of employment.

### *Government control of local authority spending*

The change of government in 1979 led to increased central control over local authority spending. All local authorities were obliged to check the growth of expenditure, under threat of severe financial penalties (which were actually imposed on Lothian Region when it refused to comply). As education is the largest spending department in local administration, cuts were inevitable and the non-mandatory services were particularly threatened, especially nursery education and community education. Within the revised education budgets, positive discrimination was still possible, and did happen; but its real significance was now clear, in that discrimination in favour of disadvantaged areas was possible only by withholding or withdrawing resources from other areas.

In this financial situation there is certainly little chance of new initiatives which require funds: a new Strathclyde Experiment in Education could not happen in 1983. Even the availability of Urban Aid is not an escape from expenditure constraints, for a local authority must find 25 per cent of costs and may have to accept long-term commitments for mainline budgeting when the grant expires. The new 1981 priorities in the Urban Programme, 'to mobilise voluntary and private sector resources',<sup>3</sup> have not yet attracted one-third of the total public funding. Because of all this, funds available (£35m. for Scotland in 1983-4) have not been fully taken up: every year, SCAN<sup>4</sup> reports, the budget of Urban Aid is underspent by millions of pounds. From April 1983, expenditure by local authorities on Urban Aid projects will not count against Scottish Office limits; and to encourage voluntary groups to apply, a new booklet<sup>5</sup> has been issued. The emphasis on self help reflects both the economic constraints on public expenditure and an ideological shift away from reliance on institutional action towards encouraging entrepreneurial enterprise.

In addition to these changes which have affected the situation directly, other more general trends should perhaps be noted.

### *The new emphasis on the 16-19 group*

The economic situation, the problem of unemployment generally and especially the high rate of unemployment among school leavers have led to a new emphasis on the 16-19 age group. This is the group whose education has become a focus of interest now that the Munn and Dunning proposals for those aged 14-16 have passed into the stage of implementation. New programmes of training and certification are proposed, through the Youth Training Scheme and Manpower Services Commission rather than through the formal education system. It is in these terms that educational provision in problem urban areas is seen as appropriate.

### *The declining birth rate*

The decline in the birth rate and falling school rolls have led to education being seen as an area for economies rather than development. In particular, this has affected the colleges of education which at an earlier stage played an important part in positive discrimination programmes and evaluation. Reduction in staffing and two closures, especially that of Hamilton College which had sustained a research momentum on educational disadvantage, have resulted in a situation where there is now no current research funded in the colleges on deprivation.

### *The trend against special groups*

There are signs within the educational system of a trend against special provision for designated groups regarded as having distinctive needs. Separate treatment is liable to result in the stigma of labelling, it is argued, and thus be self-defeating in confirming feelings of inadequacy. The Warnock Report<sup>6</sup>, for example, has led to the abolition of defined categories of handicap, replacing them with the concept of special educational needs which applies more generally and can be interpreted more flexibly according to individual needs. The Munn-Dunning programme aims at a curriculum and an examination system designed on common principles for all pupils, though allowing for individual differentiation. Both Warnock and Munn-Dunning have attracted substantial investment of resources in their development, and they

carry strong implications for the approach to educational disadvantage. A school programme for the disadvantaged pupil will have to fit these other developments, in which priorities can be determined flexibly. To designate certain areas as disadvantaged may create a static situation which is self-confirming in terms of attitudes and difficult to change once attitudes have hardened.

### **Principles for change and the role of the school**

The argument of this chapter is that, in the period following the projects of 1975-79, the problem has changed—or, more precisely, perceptions of the problem have changed, the issues have been redefined. No longer is the response to disadvantage seen simply in terms of extra provision where it is most needed, in the form of positive discrimination. Instead, because of the emphasis on the national economic crisis, this provision is linked with a general economic recovery, whether of the country as a whole or of an area, to the advantage of all rather than for selected sections of the population. Positive discrimination is still needed; but many would argue that some more general improvement is needed first. If this interpretation is right, it helps to explain why disadvantage has slipped in the agenda of concern.

However, as was admitted at the start of this chapter, it may be too soon to jump to this conclusion. The problem of disadvantage, it will be argued, remains as acute as ever and the principles outlined in Chapter 3 for dealing with it are still in vogue—the area-based approach, coordination of services, community participation, and action. Clearly, no one would argue for a programme which ran counter to these principles, which failed to recognise area differences, to plan for coordination, involve the local community and produce visible results quickly. Each of these principles, however, can be called into question. Area designation can result in labelling. Coordination of services often means delay and cumbersome administration; if one person is appointed to break through department boundaries, this may aggravate competition for funds. Community involvement, if it is successful, does not fit into a programme planned centrally, and the administrators who have the task of supporting community involvement may find themselves prime targets for criticism, just because they are in contact. Action without clear objectives and monitoring is obviously unwise and uncertain.

Even if these principles are accepted as a reasonable basis for future planning, the contribution which schools can (or should) make in their interpretation is still an open question. Does formal education have a marginal or a central role to play?

#### *A marginal role for schools?*

Those who argue for a marginal role for schools tend to view the problem of deprived areas as basically one of national economic and social structure, the product of influences on which the school can make little impact. The first priority is economic regeneration, and the responsibility for this lies primarily with other agencies. An individual school is particularly powerless in tackling the economic and social problems of its own area, though it may be able to help some to escape, and provide an island of stability and security for others. The school's main contribution is through the high standards which it sets and the example it provides. In this way it can help young people to better qualifications, through further education and courses

geared to available job opportunities, by appropriate remedial help, with more teachers and smaller classes, and by enlisting the cooperation of parents and others in the community to pursue these fairly limited but realistic aims.

### *A central role for schools*

The contrasting position claims a central role for schools, which are seen as important (or potentially influential) agents in the regeneration of communities. This demands that they operate throughout the community, usually within a coordinated programme of activities involving groups outside the school, opening up their facilities and resources to those who are not of school age, both the adults and the pre-school children. The help of parents is enlisted here too, but in a different relationship, not just in a supportive capacity to the school's work but as a bridge into the wider community. This implies an initiating role for schools, a different and unfamiliar task, which demands a drastic change of style to serve a rather different kind of function from that which they have traditionally performed. Thus even this central role for schools in revitalising communities tends to put formal education into a marginal position. The attitudes of those involved reinforce this conclusion: the public stereotype of formal education depicts it as authoritarian and remote, and many teachers reject this idea of a social role for urban schools as inappropriate or unrealistic.

### **Conclusion**

Almost all our evidence from our interviews on current projects points to the conclusion that where schools are actively working on programmes for the disadvantaged it is in a marginal role. Many are indeed acutely aware of the problems and are willing to be responsive in this way. The few which have tried to adopt what we have termed a central role have not been conspicuously successful. The trend of evidence in Chapter 3 is towards this conclusion.

To summarise, educational disadvantage is increasingly being seen as a problem within a much larger problem. Primarily, this larger problem relates to basic economic and structural features of our society. Specifically for education, the question is the role of education within a society where many of the conventional beliefs are being challenged. Those who work in schools, for the most part, do not see their role as central to the problem of educational disadvantage, and in this they have the support of most parents who assign to schools an instructional function and not a socially reforming function. Schools however are willing to respond, even if they hesitate to initiate change; and teachers and administrators alike are sensitive to the wider issues. This is the promising, if limited, basis on which a policy for the 1980s must be built.

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- (4) SCAN (Community Education newspaper), March/April 1983, Nos 123 and 124, pl & 16, Scottish Community Education Council, Edinburgh EH2 4PA.
- (5) *Urban Aid Explained*, Scottish Community Education Council, 1983.
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### **The Search for Strategies**

The aims of this concluding chapter are to review the wide variety of provision which has been made and to categorise the strategies or procedures which they have employed. This is easier said than done, for however one forms the grouping there is overlap between the categories. Most policies use several strategies in combination and most projects focus on action rather than theorising about underlying causes or specifying firm objectives.

Community work involves many people, often working relatively independently, each with his or her own perspective and different beliefs about aims and methods. In such a situation, tidy theoretical categories may bear little resemblance to the messy reality of the day-to-day work. Consequently the hard-pressed worker in the field or the busy administrator becomes impatient of analysis and adopts the attitude which was identified at the end of Chapter 3 as a distinctive feature of many projects, going for action on the basis of untested assumptions which are in good currency.

### *Plowden Strategies*

In the development of strategies we have made some progress, but not much, from the recommendations of the Plowden Report<sup>1</sup> in 1967 which introduced the concept of the 'educational priority area'. The Plowden recommendations for priority areas (paragraphs 175-7) were for more teachers and teachers' aides, the replacement of old buildings, extra school books and equipment, the expansion of nursery education, a link between colleges of education and schools in priority areas, in-service training for teachers, collaboration between social work and education, and experiments with community schools, all this to be coordinated with employment, industrial training, housing, town planning and exchequer grants to local authorities. Optimistically, this section of the report is headed 'Steps to be taken: 1968 to 1972', in the belief that, by 1972, it should be possible

'to discover which of the developments in educational priority areas have the most constructive effects, so as to assist in planning the longer term programme to follow.'

## *Halsey Strategies and Approaches*

Halsey<sup>2</sup>, reviewing the four English EPA projects, identified seven 'strategies' which straddle the range from specific forms of provision to long-term aims: the educational priority area, pre-school (and especially the 'hybrid nursery centre'), the community school, partnership between families and schools, improving the quality of teaching, action-research, and comprehensive community development and redevelopment. In a chapter on action-research, Halsey lists five 'approaches' which could be reckoned as 'strategies':

*the planning approach*, 'with field tested information on the effect of prospective centrally directed change';

*the research approach*, 'the development of theoretical knowledge';

*the political approach*, 'get something done';

*the diversionary approach*, 'an opiate to placate political pressure';

*the multiplier approach*, which

'seeks to use the social context of the project to increase its own effects; though the resource inputs are small-scale, it is anticipated that the outcomes could be substantial if attitudes are changed and participants mobilised for wider action.'

## *CDP models of social change*

The 1973 report of the Community Development Project (see page 11) identified three models of social change which could also be described as strategies: *the consensus model* which called for coordination of effort; *the pluralist model* which pointed towards democratic decision-making; and *the conflict model* which led to community action. Coordination of effort was a prime strategy of the post-1975 programmes described in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 describes a shift of policy towards economic renewal and national regeneration, with action on inflation and employment as strategies, and focus on the 16-19 age group as a tactic.

## *Procedure and strategies*

A different kind of listing is one which distinguishes among procedures, and this comes closer to the meaning of 'strategy' as a planned method of achieving an objective. Thus, starting with the four 'principles' mentioned at the end of Chapter 3 as characterising the phase two projects (1975-1978/79):

*the area-based approach*, focusing action within designated areas where deprivation is believed to be concentrated, on the grounds that concentration of effort produces a 'critical mass' within which raised morale spills over into other action;

*coordination of services*, on the principle that this too can lead to concentration of effort (or avoid dissipation of effort) by improved delivery of services, by using organisational structures or buildings or groups of people for several purposes at once, by each part of a programme reinforcing the other parts, and all this for the same initial outlay of resources;

*community involvement*, based on the widely held principle that people are more committed to things which they have decided for themselves, and so will do these things better and be more likely to value what is done; that this kind of self-help

generates confidence and hope and liberates hidden talents, that people can rise to the responsibility of challenging tasks, and thus they avoid debilitating dependency on other sections of the community (or, as some would now add, on the welfare state); and

*action*, which could be described as a non-strategy if it means just 'getting things done' without clear objectives or monitoring or evaluation or action research.

### *Tactics, strategies and policy*

The evidence from the 1970s reviewed in Chapter 3 has not provided a firm answer to the question as to which developments have had the most constructive effect. What the evidence has shown is that the question cannot be answered in this simple way. One cannot say which unit of an army has won a war; the military analyst is more likely to report in terms of the deployment of many units, of tactics and overall policy, and especially of strategies, a mode of analysis at an intermediate level between tactics and policy. The military analogy has been used by others: President Johnston adopted 'the war against poverty' as a rallying cry; Donnison referred to demographic aspects of the GEAR area as 'only seen in countries which have recently passed through a major war.' Using this analogy, we can distinguish three levels of policy: tactics to refer to procedures or specific forms of provision; strategies as an intermediate level of analysis referring to planned methods of achieving declared objectives; and policy as an overall formulation of intent. Even this categorisation suffers from overlap.

### **Tactics (forms of provision) adopted by Scottish Projects**

We can identify a range of tactics (or specific forms of provision) within the field of education from the programmes and projects described in Chapters 2 and 3, the chapters dealing with developments up to 1979.

#### *Focus on families—*

1. pre-school provision (Project Four, EPA, Urban Aid, the Community Development Project, the Strathclyde Experiment in Education, the Stepping Stone Project);
2. parent-school links (EPA, the Strathclyde Experiment, Possilpark, Family Learning Units);
3. home visiting, and social workers attached to schools (Lothian Home Visiting, EPA, CDP);
4. family centres (Urban Aid, the Strathclyde Experiment, Family Learning Units).

#### *Focus on schools—*

5. curricular change, introducing local-based studies and vocational education (Craigroyston, GEAR, Possilpark);
6. remedial education, including adult literacy programmes in schools (Circular 991, Possilpark, the Strathclyde Experiment, Family Learning Units);

7. improved resources, more teachers and extra funds to schools (EPA, Circular 991, the Comprehensive Community Programme, Strathclyde and Lothian Region policies).

*Focus on the community served by the school—*

8. community use of schools (EPA, Lothian and other Regions, Urban Aid, the Strathclyde Experiment, the Community Development Project, GEAR).

This list is far from complete and the grouping conceals much overlapping of provision. Other projects as further examples could be added to those listed in parentheses. To attempt to categorise at this level is to ignore a consideration important in determining effects, namely the purpose implicit in the provision. Positive discrimination in the form of extra resources will not itself resolve issues unless resources are deployed according to clearly understood objectives.

### **Strategies adopted by the Scottish projects**

#### *Action research*

Possibly many of those responsible for the Scottish projects described in Chapters 2 and 3 would argue that they have adopted an action research strategy, as advocated strongly in the 1972 EPA report<sup>2</sup>. (The concept of action research is criticised in the 1974 Scottish EPA report<sup>3</sup> which recognises the inherent problems.) The action research model deliberately avoids the rigorously designed experimentation which aims to provide 'answers' by testing one procedure against another under controlled conditions. It favours a different meaning of 'experiment', an adaptable formative experimentation, following whatever lead offers promise, in response to changing priorities as these are perceived by the persons most closely involved (and not by a remote experimenter). Thus, combined with the strategy of community involvement, action research is a useful style of working. But if it is taken to mean that planning ahead, monitoring and evaluation can be neglected, it comes into the category of a 'non-strategy'.

#### *Resource-based approach*

A related strategy is the open-ended or resource-based approach adopted in provision under Circular 991 and Urban Aid: provide the resources and let those who are directly involved decide how best to use them. Circular 991 provides funds for more professionals to be deployed, in the hope that they will find ways of improving the situation; Urban Aid provides pump-priming funds for promising initiatives, in the belief that locally-based initiatives offer the best hope of success. As with action research, this open approach fits well with community involvement, but without monitoring it could prove extravagant and relatively ineffective.

#### *Multiplier strategy*

The 'multiplier' strategy has received relatively little attention in the published Scottish reports. However, it is implicit in much community education work, where individuals or action groups take on commitments and their response creates other demands and other possibilities for response. The use of student teachers as 'multipliers' was a feature of the earliest Scottish projects. Project Four and Rose-

vale: with students, relatively small input of resources will have a multiplier effect if they kindle an interest or cause a change of attitude which lasts throughout a professional lifetime.

The formal education system has a particular advantage for this multiplier strategy in that it is 'already there', unlike community groups which have to be formed and seldom survive the purpose of their formation. Schools have a continuity, both in their organisational structure and simply as buildings; they are also area-based, and they have natural links with the families in the areas they serve. Change a school and you have a potential effect for many years to come. Unfortunately, as the GEAR report notes (see page 37), this also applies retrospectively, and if there is a 'psychological barrier at the gate of a school' because of people's past experience, it may take many years to break down these attitudes. It is for this reason that the GEAR report suggests a switch of resources from schools to further education.

### *The area concept*

The Scottish projects and programmes of the past decade have adopted differing combinations of these strategies. Central among these is the 'area concept', which has been associated with the policies for tackling urban deprivation since the phrase 'educational priority areas' first appeared in the Plowden Report in 1967 and the first research projects were set up under that name. The concept was implicit in the Community Development Project of 1970,<sup>3</sup> described as 'a neighbourhood-based experiment aimed at finding new ways of meeting the needs of people living in areas of high social deprivation', and also subsequently in the Strathclyde Experiment in Education, which significantly was known as 'the Govan Project'.

Beyond the specific field of education, the area concept is now at the heart of central government policies expressed in the Scottish Development Department's paper on 'Area Based Policies' (1978)<sup>4</sup> and its continued commitment to the concept in Circular 7 of 1981 on 'The Urban Programme'<sup>5</sup>.

'Projects must be area based in line with SDD policy which is to target and discriminate towards areas of deprivation.'

Such statements are of course guidelines for the support of regional projects but centrally-sponsored, large-scale multidisciplinary projects clearly follow the same pattern: the GEAR Project is the most obvious example.

Strathclyde Region favoured the area concept from the start and committed itself to it in 1976 by designating 'Areas of priority treatment' and the following year setting up its 'Areas of need initiative'. Lothian in 1975 introduced its 'Social and Community Development Programme' which identified areas of special need. In recent years, various area-based projects have been established through the Urban Programme in several regions. Strathclyde's 1981 review<sup>6</sup> expresses hesitation about the policy:

'The SDD in reiterating their earlier commitment to area-based strategies as contained in their 1978 publication . . . made it more difficult for the Council to support client-based projects in non APT areas.'

Overall, however, the review concluded (and there is general agreement on this from our interviews in Strathclyde):

'The discussion over the summer faced up to the basic question of whether the area-based approach was correct: in our view it is.'

Reasons for the acceptance of the area concept are not hard to find: it is administratively convenient, it is normally defined, at least in part, by the number of disadvantaged individuals it contains and therefore can be presumed to be 'on target'; perhaps most importantly, it encourages the development of the other two principles close to the heart of deprivation policies—the coordination of public services and participation in decision-making by the local community.

### *Problems with the area based approach*

However, the initiatives described in Chapters 2 and 3 identify certain problems associated with the area-based approach: definition: catering for individual need; and making it work.

*Definition.* The choice of criteria to identify areas of need is an issue which has exercised Strathclyde in particular. It is too complex to discuss here but it lies at the heart of any area-based policy: some of the difficulties of isolating criteria for educational deprivation are outlined in the CCP report<sup>7</sup>. A related practical point is the rate at which social conditions may change (especially in relation to housing), creating a continuing need to reassess criteria and data. If area boundaries are changed, this militates against continuity and the extended time necessary for schemes to be effective; if they are not changed, policies may be 'off target'.

Again, areas need to be defined according to purpose. Donnison<sup>8</sup> for example argues that, for 'economic' purposes, an area must have a population of not less than around 45,000, while for social purposes the area may need to be very small, even part of a street, and for political involvement it will be somewhere between the two.

Lastly, there has long been a worry about the danger of 'labelling' and stigmatisation of a deprived area, but there is little evidence of such concern in the literature. A more serious worry (which emerged in interviews rather than in reports) is the risk of political backlash from the representatives of 'twilight' areas outside the policy who see themselves permanently excluded from additional resources.

*Catering for individual need.* In his report on the London EPA project Barnes<sup>9</sup> concluded, perhaps not surprisingly, 'Not all disadvantaged children are in disadvantaged areas and not all children in disadvantaged areas are disadvantaged'. The implication however may be serious: that any resources and policies aimed at 'areas' will be exploited most by the least disadvantaged in that area, while the most disadvantaged within the area will still be relatively disadvantaged and those outside the area will be ignored. It is a dilemma recognised by Strathclyde in its complementary client-based policies and one which draws rather different reactions from researchers. The Strathclyde Experiment in Education, for example, asked:

'Area-based or family based? Adoption of the former inevitably means that several families with children who are coping educationally at school will be involved in the action. In our view this is a strength rather than a weakness.'<sup>10</sup>

Conversely, Donachy<sup>11</sup> wrote:

'What was intended as positive discrimination on behalf of the disadvantaged pre-school children becomes in practice positive discrimination in favour of the non-disadvantaged who happen to live in allegedly disadvantaged areas. If a policy has precisely the opposite effect to that intended then that surely constitutes sufficient grounds for abandoning it.'

Our interviews and the comments in various reports highlight this issue. We were told that in a mixed area, 'You inhibit the most deprived' and 'We get those who still have aspirations'. It is significant too that where schools are part of an area policy, teachers critical of the scheme would centre their criticisms on what they saw as the relative neglect of individual children, normally those with learning difficulties.

*Making it work.* It is certainly premature to make any definitive judgment on the area policy but, beyond the practicability of administrative convenience, it seems clear that it is a policy based on principles of coordination of services and participation which are proving difficult in the short term to translate into effective practice. For example, one of the justifications of the concept is that it allows for inter-professional inservice training, but there seem few examples of this in practice. Again it has the potential to allow the coordination of local government services at area level, but the IOR review<sup>12</sup> of Strathclyde policy in 1981 noted that such cooperation was sometimes limited:

'Service departments will be only minimally committed to an area management group.'

This comment arose in interviews in other regions also. Perhaps this suggests not that the principle is wrong but that it has to be worked at.

Finally there is a refreshing but daunting open-endedness in the projects and initiatives based on the area concept. Most are based on the principle that needs and priorities should be defined in and by the community; action is incremental and by negotiation. The IOR review describes Strathclyde's Areas of Need Initiative as

'... an opening move in a many sided negotiation between groups and individuals which might lead in unpredictable directions'.

But in this 'many sided negotiation', it does seem that many have simply not known where they or the project have been going; in some cases disenchantment has quickly set in. Many have started with a strong commitment to 'making it work', but have rapidly concluded that they were not entirely sure of what 'it' was. The IOR report, for example, identifies eleven rather different perceptions of what the area of need initiative was about. The weakness in planning ahead in these open-ended activities is matched by inadequate monitoring or (since that word implies control and evaluation) recording, reporting and communication about what is happening.

The area concept allows for an open-endedness in approach which is based on firm principles, but it does demand almost unlimited time, constant negotiation and continuity of staff committed to these principles. Without all of these, projects are likely to flounder and provoke participants to yearn for the 'grand design' (in the terms used in the interim report<sup>13</sup> on the Craigroyston project). The answer has to lie somewhere in being able to envisage the 'grand design' and at the same time avoid premature definition. It will certainly involve clarifying the long term aims while

emphasising the short term objectives. It is these short term objectives which lie at the heart of every project; and while insufficient in themselves, it is from them that participants at every level find their present satisfaction and their future commitment. It is no easy task.

### **Causes of deprivation**

Beyond these strategies lie more general questions about the nature and causes of deprivation and poverty; on these issues surprisingly little is to be found in Scottish writing in the past decade. An internal Scottish Development Department paper by Levein<sup>14</sup> contrasts the 'two main theoretical influences' in urban deprivation programmes:

'the cycle of deprivation theory and a structural analysis . . . The former theory sought explanation in individual pathologies and the latter in the national system of resource allocation.'

EPA, Urban Aid and the early CDP programmes were among those which drew on the 'individual pathology' diagnosis: EPA aiming through early intervention to break the cycle before anti-social behaviour had been inculcated, Urban Aid seeking to reduce community and family inadequacies, CDP seeing the origins of deprivation in the characteristics of local populations. While this interpretation was dominant (and of course not all of those involved in the early programmes held this view), deprivation tended to be seen as a 'residual phenomenon' which could be overcome with sufficient additional resources.

But in the past decade, the structural interpretation has gained strength, among researchers in particular. On this view structural changes in society are seen as a prerequisite to successful action against deprivation. Emphasis on structural factors is not just a left-wing radical view: the priority currently given to economic regeneration also reflects this trend. While the cycle of deprivation theory focuses on individual needs, the structural theory directs attention to economic and social factors. Those involved in education have traditionally been more concerned with individuals, and have interpreted 'need' in individual terms, and this may be another reason why the trend of recent years has moved away from educational action as the central element, assigning to education a supportive or marginal role (see page 54).

### **The contribution of education**

Even if this interpretation is accepted, it does not imply that marginal means unimportant or ineffective. Arguably, however, what can be done through the formal system of compulsory education is limited. As 'multipliers', schools are in a weak position, being viewed unfavourably by those who are most affected by deprivation. It is necessary therefore to look to alternatives in the educational sphere. 'Alternatives' (health education, and literacy campaigns, for example) was the term used in the 1979 Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers of Education<sup>15</sup> in discussing the problem of deprivation in the Third World:

'Alternatives . . . must now be seen more holistically as the educative component of national development plans . . . The non-formal idea is . . . part of a widespread search for alternatives in education which is itself intimately bound up with changing conceptions of development.'

In the context of our own society's 'changing conceptions of development', community education and continuing education are more appropriate terms to describe this 'more holistic' educative component. Within a framework of community and continuing education, various strategies can be combined, and the educational plans of the GEAR project provide a current example.

Development on these lines, however, will not be achieved merely by structural changes. New structures have to be 'worked at' (page 61): success depends on attitudes, and in particular on a wider view of what education can do, and a new professionalism among all those whose work takes them into this field. The wider view of education is a prime element of the professionalism which is required, as is a deeper understanding of the issues, and an armoury of skills with which to meet the exacting demands of this work. The military metaphor of 'armoury' is not inappropriate, for conflict and stress are distinctive features of work in deprived areas. 'Stress is a chain reaction', said one of the field workers we interviewed: it passes from clients to those who work with them. This is the reason why the Circular 991 provision of additional teachers in areas of deprivation is so widely approved.

Any changes within the formal education structure which can underpin a move towards greater involvement of teachers in work of this kind will have important side effects. In its wake it may also bring a new awareness of the need to see education in a wider setting than the current emphasis on certification. It may also improve the quality of public debate on these issues and help towards a more tolerant understanding. Our hope is that this record of what has been attempted in Scotland over the past decade may contribute in some small way towards that end.

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